John Amory
bought at Cork April 17. 1799

PARLIAMENTARY

CHARACTERS.

PARLIAMENTARY

CHARTERS.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Mary Sealy London 1780

CHARACTERS.

CONTAINING

AN IMPARTIAL REVIEW

OF THE

Public Conduct and Abilities

OF THE MOST EMINENT

PERSONAGES

IN THE

PARLIAMENT

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN.

DUBLIN:

Printed for W. WILSON, No. 6, Dame-ſtreet;
and R. MONCRIEFFE, No. 16, Capel-ſtreet.

M. DCC. LXXVII.

Entered with the Company of Booksellers.

The following CHARACTERS of Statesmen, Senators, and public Speakers, being so universally approved of, since their original publication in the GAZETTEER, that the Author has been induced in this Edition to revise, correct, and considerably enlarge them.

TO HIS GRACE

CHARLES,

DUKE OF RICHMOND AND LENOX, &c.

MY LORD DUKE,

THERE are many peculiarities in my diſpoſition which diſtinguiſh me from the whole race of ſpeculative politicians, from Plato to that profound, learned, and elaborate political Coloſſus, Mr. Samuel Johnſon,

Johnſon, ſome time ſince advanced to the worſhipful dignity of Doctor of Laws—it may be preſumed, *not* the laws or conſtitutions of England, as they lie ſcattered in the ſeveral codes promulgated by our Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman anceſtors, but rather thoſe invaluable treaſures collected from the *golden* or *bloody edicts* of Imperial Rome.—But to return; as I have addreſſed you in the ſtyle of a client, it is fit that your Grace ſhould be acquainted with thoſe leading peculiarities which mark my character.

Being moſt earneſtly anxious to remain in the moſt impervious obſcurity, the great leading condition of any future connexion between your

your Grace and me muſt be a total ignorance of my name, perſon, &c. *till* the *event* of the preſent American war ſhall be ultimately known. —I am of *no* party, and am liſted in *no* faction. Even when all perſonal circumſtances relative to myſelf ſhall come to be revealed, I never mean to ſolicit the patronage or protection of any Man, either *in* or *out* of office; nor flatter him in *print*, in order the more efficaciouſly to make my court to him in *private*. From theſe rules of conduct on my part, your Grace will perceive that you ſtand in as peculiar a ſituation to your dedicator, as he ſtands to your Grace and the public. Your Grace need not dread to be teazed with panegyrics on

on *his own* merits, or on the manifold tranſcendent virtues uſually beſtowed on patrons; with applications for pecuniary favours; with impertinent intruſions at your Grace's table, or into your domeſtic retirements; but above all, your Grace, on the firſt week of your entrance into office, if that ſhould ever happen, will not be ſtunned with ſolicitations for a fat *ſinecure* office, or a round penſion on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment. — Having ſaid ſo much of myſelf, and ſo little of my patron, another circumſtance rather unuſual; I beg leave to point out the grand motive which induced me to recommend the following ſheets to your Grace's protection: I might refer your Grace and the public to the Preface, and

to

to your character in the body of the work; but as there is a ſpecies of readers who ſeldom look farther than the title-page and the dedication, I ſhall inform them in the words of a celebrated political writer, of the true grounds of the preſent Dedication, which are, in hopes "that ſome great, brave, diſintereſted man may ariſe, and (to predict that) he will be received, followed, and almoſt adored, as the guardian genius of theſe kingdoms. *Without* a foundatian of *ſolid virtue* and *public ſpirit*, the *nobleſt* accompliſhments *loſe* their importance; with it, common ſenſe grows *venerable*, and the *dove* triumphs over the *ſerpent*.

"If there is *one* man among us, who upon a thorough *ſelf-examination* feels himſelf to be within this deſcription, let him *ſtand forth*, and by a ſolemn, open, and explicit renunciation of all power, places, penſions, and every other ſpecies of Court merchandize, lay the *groundwork* for obtaining the *confidence* of the *people*; and, as far as honour and infamy *can bind*, give *ſecurity* for a religious obſervance of his engagement.

"But if modeſty ſhould hinder, what public neceſſity makes a duty, let this one man endeavour to inſpire a few more with the ſame generous ſentiments, and let them divide both the ſervice and the glory—

"Glory,

" Glory, which, however *decried* and *diſcountenanced* of *late*, is the *only* thing *worth* the ambition of the Great, and what the people *only* can beſtow."

I have the honour to ſubſcribe myſelf,

MY LORD,

YOUR GRACE'S

MOST OBEDIENT,

AND FAITHFUL

HUMBLE SERVANT,

LONDON,
18th Jan. 1777.

THE AUTHOR.

PREFACE.

THE Author of the following CHARACTERS had only one point principally in view, on the publication of the firſt *five* or *ſix*, and that was merely to eſtabliſh ſome *criterion* of public judgment, that might enable the people to aſcertain the political *value* and perſonal *integrity* of the ſeveral leaders and ſubordinate actors in both Houſes of Parliament. While he ſought ſuch a criterion, in the true ſpirit of political inquiry, the *event* of the preſent unhappy war, waging in America, preſented him with the means.—He clearly perceived, if *that* country ſhould be *loſt*, or *recovered*; if *this* ſhould be *exhauſted* and *proſtrated* at the feet of a *foreign* enemy; ſhould our fleets, armies, and commiſſioners, return in triumph, after having, by ſound policy, *ſecured* the dependency of our Colonies; or that *conqueſt* ſhould enable us to lead our rebellious ſubjects captive; in any of theſe events the *pretenſions* on either hand to high

PREFACE.

THE Author of the following CHARACTERS had only one point principally in view, on the publication of the firſt *five* or *ſix*, and that was merely to eſtabliſh ſome *criterion* of public judgment, that might enable the people to aſcertain the political *value* and perſonal *integrity* of the ſeveral leaders and ſubordinate actors in both Houſes of Parliament. While he ſought ſuch a criterion, in the true ſpirit of political inquiry, the *event* of the preſent unhappy war, waging in America, preſented him with the means.—He clearly perceived, if *that* country ſhould be *loſt*, or *recovered*; if *this* ſhould be *exhauſted* and *proſtrated* at the feet of a *foreign* enemy; ſhould our fleets, armies, and commiſſioners, return in triumph, after having, by ſound policy, *ſecured* the dependency of our Colonies; or that *conqueſt* ſhould enable us to lead our rebellious ſubjects captive; in any of theſe events the *pretenſions* on either hand to high

high integrity, at leaſt to *great talents*, could no longer remain a matter of doubt, controverſy, or problematical reaſoning. Theſe Sketches, if faithfully and impartially delineated, would, he foreſaw, enable the public to *decide* with preciſion, and pronounce with authority. —Nothing more would be requiſite than to examine the *index*; a careful *peruſal of that* would lead the reader to this great Stateſman, or that great Orator's *ſentiments* upon the *rights* of both countries, and the *policy* or *impolicy* of the meaſures adopted or recommended in the courſe of the preſent diſpute with our Colonies.

Should the events, which the preſent civil war may be productive of, cauſe an additional *debt* of *forty* millions, a French and Spaniſh *war*, public *bankruptcy*, national *deſpair*, and civil *commotions at home* —in the following ſheets may be diſcovered the *authors* of our *ruin*, and of the meaſures which led to it, as well as thoſe who had the *ſagacity* to *foreſee*, and the *honeſty* to *predict* it. If, on the other hand, it ſhould appear that America aimed at independence from the very beginning;

ginning; if it ſhould be proved that the leaders and fomenters of the preſent troubles have eſtabliſhed a thouſand times a more inſupportable tyranny than what they pretended they took up arms to reſiſt; if nothing will bring the people of that country back to a proper ſenſe of their duty, but the hand of *power* exerciſed in a *ſevere*, but *neceſſary* chaſtiſement; if they have neither the loyalty or gratitude to be *good* ſubjects, nor the *ſpirit* to be formidable foes: if the nation ſhould neceſſarily incur an enormous expence in aſſerting her rights, and a revenue commenſurate to that expence ſhould be *obtained*; if the combined force of France and Spain ſhould *not* be able to keep pace with their unfriendly and hoſtile intentions; in fine, if ſuch ſhould be the conſequences of the preſent meaſures, the Author ventures to affirm, that a peruſal of the following Sketches will *enable* the impartial reader, with a mixture of *gratitude* and *admiration*, to hail by *name* the *ſaviours* and *deliverers* of their country!

It

It was to eſtabliſh this grand *criterion*, that the Author firſt ſat down to write. As he proceeded in the execution of his plan, he perceived there would be *ſomething* ſtill *wanting* to give it perſpicuity; that it would be neceſſary to ſeek the *cauſes*, as well as to point out the effects. Taking the queſtion as ſtated in the creeds of the *Court faction*, that the authority of Britain muſt be ſacrificed to the ambition of our Colonies, ſhould they carry their point, he wiſhed to diſcover what were the *true* cauſes why Britain came to be reduced to *ſo* lamentable a ſituation; how it came to paſs, that the *fate* of this great and powerful empire was in ſome meaſure rendered *dependent* on the *iſſue* of meaſures *originating* in *Cabinet*, or *elſewhere*, and blindly and implicitly adopted and ſupported in Parliament.

After ſome lights had been let in on his mind, which led him within view of the objects of his inquiry; after his own experience confirmed him in every material circumſtance he had heard; and

that

that the *uniform conduct* of parties and perſons had ſtrengthened and tranſmuted conjecture and ſurmiſe into demonſtration, almoſt into proof poſitive, he diſcovered the whole to have *originated* in a *ſtruggle* between *two factions*. He ſaw that both parties fought for power and dominion under *falſe colours*: he beheld, with grief and indignation, the ſucceſſive defections, acts of apoſtacy, and repeated abuſe of public confidence, by that deſcription of men who ſhould ever ſtand, in this country, *between* the *Crown* and *People*, as the faithful and powerful guardians of their rights, with which *their own* are ſo inſeparably connected: he lamented a want of *union* or *common counſel* among the leaders of Oppoſition; a certain ferocious, haughty ſpirit, impatient of controul or inveſtigation; ill-founded pretenſions, jealouſies, diſtruſts, with all the concomitants of a ſtate of things, in which almoſt every individual member ſeemed more ſolicitous to promote *his own* intereſt, raiſe his conſequence, or gratify his ambition on the firſt opportunity, than to ſtrengthen his party; much leſs to advance the intereſts

of

of his country.—On the other hand, he imagined, he had ſtill greater reaſon to *lament* that *unbounded influence* which the Crown poſſeſſes, and exerciſes by the means of its *confidential inſtruments*, in effecting a ſyſtem of Government, by which Parliament are rendered *independent* of the People, and *dependent* on the Miniſters; the Miniſters are rendered cyphers, being directed by thoſe active inſtruments; and the conſtituent, legiſlative, and executive powers of the ſtate, are *virtually* made to *concenter* in *one* hand. It is true, it might furniſh a ſubject of *curious* inveſtigation to determine *which end* of the political chain receives the impulſe; whether the *People* operate on *Parliament*, Parliament upon *Miniſters*, *Miniſters* upon the *King's Friends*, and the King's Friends on the *King himſelf*; or whether the *Patron*, ſtanding at the *other end* of the *wire*, by contact, conveys the electric ſtroke to his *Inſtruments*, they again to the Phantoms in Office, who paſs the luminous and *ſubtile* matter through more than *ten thouſand* channels to the Parliament and People.

Beſides

Beſides barely aſcertaining the value of public men by the *events* of the preſent American war, the Author wiſhes to draw the attention of his readers, from the perſonal qualities of the ſeveral eminent perſons whoſe characters he has attempted to delineate, to the *cauſes* which have rendered them what they are; and to the great cauſe of all, the increaſed *influence* of the Crown, operating from a *preconcerted*, confirmed *Court ſyſtem*, in a plan of favouritiſm; in which, tho' the *forms* of the conſtitution be preſerved, the Firſt Magiſtrate is, in *fact*, rendered as independent of every ſpecies of conſtitutional controul, as the moſt deſpotic Monarch in Europe:—The nation would therefore have juſt cauſe of alarm, had not they the ſureſt pledge of their *political ſalvation*, in the innumerable and exalted virtues and talents with which his Majeſty is known to abound.

The Author now returns to the poſition he firſt ſet out with; and which, he truſts, will throw light on the ſubject; which is, that the following Sketches will enable

enable the Public to form a true judgment of the political value of the parties and individuals of the leading Members in both Houſes of Parliament.—His ſecond poſition is, that faction in the State has produced a *dangerous faction* in the Court, countenanced, aided, protected, fomented, and nouriſhed by ——— *ſome*, whoſe duty, intereſt, and magiſtratical obligation ſhould have *united* to *diſcourage* faction *any where*, or upon *any pretence*. The American war has ſo intimate a connexion with the views of the faction deſcribed in the ſecond poſition, that the eventual ſucceſs or miſcarriage of it will determine the *wiſdom*, and, it is to be *hoped*, the *exiſtence* of a Court ſyſtem, ſo incongruous in its ſeveral parts, and ſo directly repugnant to the *ſpirit* of a mixed government, in which the conſtitution has marked out the boundaries, and apportioned, with ſo much accuracy and preciſion, the ſeveral powers it meant to lodge in different hands.

Theſe were the principal motives that prompted the Author to this undertaking in the beginning, and induced him to

proſecute

proſecute it upon a larger and more comprehenſive plan as he proceeded: which, joined with its firſt favourable reception, has encouraged him to ſubmit the following Characters in their preſent collected ſtate.—He means, in future, to purſue the ſame plan, as ſoon as a number ſufficient to form another publication ſhall have made their appearance.

On the whole, the Author lays no claim to any merit, but that of drawing his materials from ſources of *genuine* information, in the true ſpirit, he hopes, of *intentional* impartiality; of forbearing to *diſguiſe* or *palliate* the conduct of even thoſe, whoſe political ſentiments moſt intimately correſpond with *his own*; and, above all, of *diſdaining* to level his ſhafts at a few unpopular individuals; * becauſe, beſides the injuſtice and want of candour in making public charges without a *ſuitable* weight of proof to ſubſtantiate them, he ſaw it early, and now ſincerely laments, that the public *attention* was injudiciouſly called to *improper* objects;

* Lords Bute and Mansfield.

objects; while *patronage*, *faction*, and a luſt of *dominion*, were permitted to unite in eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of adminiſtration, which nothing but the perſonal and *political* virtues of the Sovereign can prevent from being totally ſevered, and rendered, at length, independent of even the *forms* of the *conſtitution*.

CONTENTS.

	Page
LORD Mansfield —	1
Lord Camden —— ——	8
Attorney-General (Mr. Thurloe)	15
Mr. Edmund Burke ——	22
Lord Lyttelton — —	30
Lord Chatham ——	38
Lord George Germain ——	50
Colonel Barré ——	58
Lord Hillſborough ——	67
Duke of Grafton ——	73
Solicitor-General (Mr. Wedderburne)	91
Mr. Charles Fox ——	103
Lord Suffolk ——	115
Lord Shelburne — —	122
Mr. Wellbore Ellis —	131
Mr. Dunning — —	142
Lord Sandwich ——	151
Duke of Richmond — —	168
Lord North ——	184

C O N T E N T S.

	Page
Lord Mansfield	1
Lord Camden	8
Attorney-General (Mr. Pratt)	15
Mr. Edmund Burke	22
Lord Lyttelton	30
Lord Chatham	38
Lord George Germain	50
Colonel Barré	58
Lord Hillsborough	67
Duke of Grafton	73
Solicitor-General (Mr. Wedderburne)	91
Mr. Charles Fox	103
Lord Suffolk	115
Lord Shelburne	122
Mr. Welbore Ellis	131
Mr. Dunning	142
Lord Granby	151
Duke of Richmond	168
Lord North	184

PARLIAMENTARY CHARACTERS.

LORD MANSFIELD.

ACCORDING to the profeſſed plan of this Eſſay, I am obliged to take up this Nobleman's political and parliamentary character in the year 1766. We find him, in the ſpring of that year, for the firſt time ſince his taking his ſeat in the Houſe of Lords, ſeparated from Adminiſtration; and oppoſing the meaſures which were ſuppoſed to be conducted by the Marquis of Rockingham, then at the head of the Treaſury. The queſtion on which his Lordſhip and ſeveral others, not ſuppoſed to be inimical to the general meaſures of Government, differed from the King's ſervants, was, on the propriety of the repeal of the Stamp

Act. We do not recollect whether he openly or violently oppoſed the repeal; but he certainly voted againſt it. The celebrated Proteſt, which followed the repeal, was ſaid to have been drawn up under his Lordſhip's immediate inſpection, and was looked upon at the time as one of the moſt able performances, in that way, ever entered in the records of Parliament. His uniform and ſteady conduct ever ſince, in the *ſame* line, leaves no doubt but he entirely approved of all the meaſures which ſoon after followed a change of Miniſtry. In 1767 we find him ſupporting the Port duties, propoſed in the other Houſe by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. In 1770 we again find him ſupporting the partial repeal of thoſe duties, and continuing the duty on tea, the immediate cauſe of all our preſent diſputes. It is on this great ground of the meaſures relative to America, that we are enabled to decide on his Lordſhip's political character. His Lordſhip diſapproved of the repeal of the Stamp Act, becauſe he looked upon it to be a tacit relinquiſhing of the ſupreme authority of this country over America. When, therefore, Lord Rockingham and his friends went out,

and

and left the declaratory law as a *ſalvo* for the honour and, as *he* imagined, deſerted power of Great-Britain, he united with Adminiſtration, in thinking that the act for laying on the Port duties would be the means of breathing a ſoul into the declaratory act, which, without it or ſome other ſpecies of acquieſcence and active acknowledgment on the part of America, muſt remain lifeleſs, nugatory, and ineffective; and when the duties on paper, painters colours, and glaſs, as being commodities of native manufacture, were found to be repugnant to the intereſts of commerce, he approved of the repeal of thoſe particular duties. The other parts of his political conduct, ſo far as the ſame related to meaſures carried on in Parliament, ſeem to have rather proceeded from an *uniform* ſupport of Government, than any particular ſentiments of his own, unleſs connected with the ſyſtem purſuing or meant to be purſued towards America. Among the latter were all the bills of coercion againſt America, in which the Quebec Act may be well included. Thoſe ſeveral meaſures he defended, as they preſented themſelves, ſo ably and particularly, nay, in ſome inſtances, ſo very minutely, as to enter

into the defence of the *grammatical* conſtruction of ſeveral of the clauſes; that his opponents in argument frequently charged him with being the original framer and father of them; but this we cannot by any means ſuppoſe, his Lordſhip having repeatedly *diſclaimed* in debate the leaſt previous knowledge of their contents, or of having attended the buſineſs of the Cabinet for a conſiderable time before the period here adverted to. We ſhall conclude the political character of this *conſummate* Stateſman, by obſerving, that he has never yet *deſerted* his *principles*; and that he has built all his arguments and reaſonings, and drawn all his concluſions on this ſingle ſuppoſition, that America has, from the beginning, *aimed* at *independency*; and that the fartheſt people of that country will ever be prevailed upon to conſent to but by force and compulſion, will be an acknowledgment of the *perſonal* ſupremacy of the *King* of Great Britain, detached in that inſtance from, and unconnected with, his Parliament.

His Lordſhip's abilities as a Parliamentary Speaker, require the hand of a maſter to do them

them juſtice. The writer, conſcious of his own inability, therefore attempts only an haſty and incorrect ſketch. His Lordſhip is certainly one of the greateſt orators this country ever beheld. His powers of diſcrimination are equalled by none of his cotemporaries. His memory is ſo tenacious and *correct*, that he ſcarcely or ever takes notes; and when he does, he ſeldom has recourſe to them. His references to expreſſions which have fallen in the courſe of the debate, or his quotations from books, are ſo *faithful*, that they may be ſaid to be repeated *verbatim*. The purpoſes to which he employs theſe amazing talents are ſtill more extraordinary: if it be the weak part of his opponent's argument he refers to, he is ſure to expoſe its fallacy, weakneſs, or abſurdity, in the moſt poignant ſatire, or hold it up in the moſt ridiculous point of view. If, on the contrary, it be a point on which his adverſaries lay their chief ſtreſs, he ſtates the words correctly, collects their obvious meaning, conſiders the force of the ſeveral arguments that have or may be raiſed upon them, with a preciſion that would induce an auditor to almoſt ſuppoſe he had previouſly conſidered the whole, and thrown his thoughts upon paper on the ſubject;

and

and that his ſpeech was the reſult of this previous conſideration. His judgment is no leſs ſound upon many occaſions, than his genius is extenſive and penetrating: for as he pours forth at pleaſure ſtrains of the moſt bewitching and perſuaſive oratory; ſo his dexterity in bringing every thing offered on the other ſide within a narrow compaſs, and either entirely defeating its intended effect, or breaking its force, is hardly credible, but by ſuch as have heard him. On the other hand, his Lordſhip is often rather ſuperficial, ſubtile, and perſuaſive, than ſolid, logical, and convincing. He is fond of ſounds and appearances, and avails himſelf of his great oratoric powers, by courting the paſſions. No man knows better to direct his attack towards the preconceived prejudices of the majority of his auditors. He ſeems much more ſolicitous to perſuade them that they are not acting wrong, than to convince them that they are acting right. His Lordſhip's genius ſeems to direct him this way; in ſhort, the quickneſs and ſenſibility of his eye, the animation of his countenance, the ſweetneſs and diverſity of his voice, the graces, ſtrength, and

harmony

harmony of his elocution, all unite to render him the firſt orator in either Houſe; but — *ſic tranſit gloria mundi*—his voice, enunciation, and ſpirits, to ſay no more, ſeem to be very ſenſibly on the decline; the evening of his abilities, as well as of his life, begin to make their appearance at a diſtance, and his Lordſhip's moſt ſolid enjoyments will ſhortly be the *conſciouſneſs* of a life *devoted* to the *intereſts* of his *country*, and the *happineſs* of *humgn kind*.

LORD CAMDEN.

THIS Nobleman was, on the change of Miniſtry which was formed by Lord Chatham in July 1776, and thought for ſome months to be under his controul and direction, appointed Lord High Chancellor of Great Britain. His Lordſhip, previous to his appointment, ſtood high in the opinion of the public, as well on account of his ſtrong intellectual powers and profeſſional knowledge, as his laudable and hitherto unſhaken political integrity. Brought in under the auſpices of his ſteady friend, it may be preſumed their views and ſentiments were the ſame; happy for *one* of them, we *believe*, that they had *ſeparately* thought for themſelves. An opportunity ſoon preſented itſelf, which operated like the touch of Ithuriel's ſpear. Our new Chancellor was to be tried in the double capacity of Lawyer and Stateſman. The Lord-Mayor of London, who happened to be a cornfactor, alarmed the Miniſtry with an account of a ſhort crop of corn at home, a failure of the harveſt all over Europe, and a rapid

rapid exportation under the corn laws. The queſtion came to be conſidered in Cabinet; a Royal Proclamation was iſſued, forbidding any further exportation; and the laws, at leaſt in this inſtance, were made to give way to the arbitrary mandates of the Council-table. The *Tories* inſtantly *turned Whigs* and *Patriots*, and arraigned the meaſure as both an open attack on the conſtitution, and a direct invaſion of the laws; they emphatically called it the *forty days tyranny*, and contended it was much more dangerous than the caſe of Ship Money, in the reign of Charles the Firſt, or the diſpenſing power aſſumed by James the Second. The opening was given, the blot was hit; the meaſure might be ſoftened or palliated, but could not be defended; yet, what was the noble Lord's conduct? Did he confeſs or acknowledge, that his feelings for the ſufferings of his fellow-ſubjects miſled his underſtanding; or that this love of juſtice, founded in governmental protection and political preſervation, directed or influenced his conduct? No, his Lordſhip ſtood on the *beaten* ground of *ſtate neceſſity*; and not only fixed the exerciſe of the royal prerogative in the firſt magiſtrate,

where to be ſure it ſhould always reſide, but endeavoured to inveſt him with the *option* when, and on what occaſion, with the advice of his Privy Council, that inherent prerogative is to be exerciſed, in direct contradiction to the known and ſtatute law of the land, and the acknowledged principles of the conſtitution. Such was part of the firſt *three months* Chancellorſhip of the once celebrated Chief Juſtice of the Court of Common Pleas. His Patron's infirmity of body daily encreaſing; his weight in the cloſet daily and proportionably decreaſing; the noble Duke * at the head of the Treaſury ſoon attaching himſelf to another party, his Lordſhip at once found himſelf ſtripped of his popularity, and rendered a *cypher* in the Cabinet; and thus for three tedious years remained a ſilent ſpectator in Parliament, while the Port American duty bill; the explanation by addreſs of the ſtatute of Henry the Eighth, for the trial of offenders for crimes committed beyond ſea; and the affair of the Middleſex election, ſeverally received the approbation of a majority, both in Cabinet and in Parliament. His Patron † having

* Duke of Grafton. † Lord Chatham.

having for ſome time before reſigned, and recovered his ſtrength and ſpirits, his Lordſhip caught the holy flame, and once more commenced Patriot. At the opening of the ſeſſion in 1770, he ſeparated from his colleagues in office, and condemned, in the moſt unqualified terms, the conduct of Adminiſtration in the affair of Mr. Wilkes and the Middleſex election. In 1774, the affairs of America having become a continual ſubject of parliamentary diſcuſſion, his Lordſhip reſumed his old line of politics, and has ever ſince uniformly continued one of the ſtrongeſt advocates for the natural, chartered, and conſtitutional rights of America, in contradiction to the miniſterial and parliamentary claims of this country.—He is, indeed, more able himſelf than a *hoſt* of ordinary *adverſaries*.

His Lordſhip's parliamentary abilities are unqueſtionable. In point of *contraſt* to the laſt noble Lord, * he is by no means ſo great an orator, in the ſtrict ſenſe of the word; but he is infinitely his ſuperior in depth of reaſoning, in logical definition, in the philoſophical arrange-

* Lord Mansfield.

arrangement and ſeparation of his ideas, and in his knowledge of the fundamental laws of this conſtitution. He never leaves thoſe openings to his antagoniſts, which eternally recur in the harangues of his learned and noble brother. He ſeldom addreſſes himſelf merely to the paſſions; and if he does, he always almoſt addreſſes them through the medium of true argument and ſound logic. In fact, if he was to ſpeak in an audience, compoſed of men of talents and experience only, there is no man in either Houſe would ſtand the leaſt chance to contend with him for victory; but in merely driving or leading a herd, Lord Mansfield, Lord Chatham, and *even* Lord Lyttelton, are confeſſedly his ſuperiors. In reſpect of *delineation*, Lord Camden is cool, deliberative, argumentative, and perſuaſive. He is fond of firſt principles; he argues cloſely, and never lets them out of his view; his volubility, choice of language, flowings of ideas and words to expreſs them, are inexhauſtible. The natural rights of the Coloniſts, the privileges and immunities granted by charter, and their repreſentative rights as native ſubjects of the Britiſh empire, are the *ſubſtrata* on which he

erects

erects all his arguments, and from whence he draws all his concluſions. His judgment is, if poſſible, ſtill greater in debate, than his mere powers of oratory as a public ſpeaker. He either takes a part early in it, decides the queſtion, or embarraſſes his adverſaries; or he waits till they have ſpent all their force, and reſts his attack on ſome latent or neglected point, overlooked, or little attended to in the courſe of the debate. In fine, as Lord Mansfield is the greateſt *orator*, ſo we do not heſitate to pronounce Camden by much the moſt able *reaſoner* in either Houſe of Parliament. On the other hand, his Lordſhip deals too much in firſt principles, denied or controverted by his adverſaries; and ſeems more eager to convince the *people* of *America*, though at three thouſand miles diſtance, that they are *right*, than to perſuade his noble auditory, that they are wrong. Many of his ſpeeches bear an inflammatory appearance. His *ſilence* or *acquieſcence* in the meaſures he *now* ſo loudly condemns, takes off much of that weight his arguments muſt be otherwiſe intitled to. His diſcourſes are ſometimes too fine ſpun and intricate, and ſometimes partake of the bar ſubtilty, and

refinement

refinement of Weſtminſter-Hall. On the whole, he ſeems diſpoſed to embarraſs and embroil, even where he does not expect to ſucceed. This we take to be a wanton abuſe of his great talents; and what, in our opinion, he ought above all things to totally avoid or ſtudiouſly learn to correct.

MR. THURLOE,

ATTORNEY-GENERAL.

MR. THURLOE's political character is little known; tho' his political conduct and private and profeſſional character is pretty notorious. On the reſignation of Mr. Dunning in 1770, he ſucceeded that gentleman, under the patronage of the Houſe of Bedford, as Solicitor-General; and early in the enſuing year, within the period of ten months, he ſucceeded Sir William De Grey, appointed Chief Juſtice of the Common-Pleas, in the office of Attorney-General. Two circumſtances attended the ſudden elevation of Mr. Thurloe, very uncommon, and we believe unprecedented; which were, that he was appointed Solicitor-General from a ſtate of ſome degree of profeſſional obſcurity, and before he was ſo much as known, or matriculated within the hollowed walls of St. Stephen; and that of courſe he arrived to the high poſt he now occupies, before he had any ſtriking opportunity of diſplaying

playing his talents, in the lucrative *trade* of parliamentary warfare. Mr. Attorney's *operative* or *active* principles are, we preſume, well known; ſo well, that we take the liberty to think, that there is not a man in England of any party, ſize of underſtanding, or political complexion, whoſe buſineſs, views, or amuſements, have led him to ſpeculations of this kind, that is not firmly perſuaded, and ſatisfactorily informed, of the *ſteadineſs*, *uniformity*, and *inflexibility* of the overruling principle which governs and directs this great officer's conduct: though earth, hell, and heaven were to club their influences, and unite in threatening him with worldly diſgrace, future puniſhment, and eternal reprobation, they muſt carry their threats into actual execution, before they could intimidate him from purſuing the great *principle* of his *nature*. There is, however, ſomething *bold*, *explicit*, *deciſive*, and *open* in his public conduct, which many of his partiſans, who make high pretenſions to public virtue and political perfection, are total ſtrangers to. Whether it were the ſhutting up the port of Boſton, or blowing it up, and razing it to its loweſt

loweſt foundations, by a *globe of compreſſion*; * whether it were to eſtabliſh the Turkiſh, the Gentoo, or the Romiſh religion in the province of Canada; whether it were to bring criminals home to England to be tried for offences committed in America, or hang them by the more expeditious method of martial law, accompanied, for the ſake of variety, by the *knout* or *bow-ſtring*; whether it were to prevent the deſcendants of George the Second from marrying before their *cogitative* and *generative* faculties were arrived at their full growth, or to paſs an edict for their *caſtration*; whether it were to new-model the charters of the Eaſt-India Company, or *annihilate* them by proclamation; or whether to paſs a law to extirpate rebellion in America, or for *extirpating* the *inhabitants*, we preſume, would make very little difference with this great lawyer and ſtateſman, provided he were fully *perſuaded* that ſuch meaſures would redound to the *honour* of his Royal Maſter, the *proſperity* of his Country, the *ſecurity* of the Conſtitution, and the

* See Romanzow's account of the ſtorm of Bendor by the Ruſſians.

the *preſervation* of the State. After this *open, candid,* and *Thurloean* manner of delineating this gentleman's character, developing his political opinions, and tracing his motives to their true ſource, it will be needleſs to add any more, than that he promiſes fair to be ſhortly placed in a ſituation where he will be *entruſted* with the *uſe, keeping,* and *direction* of the *King's conſcience.*

Mr. Thurloe, among ſo numerous a body as the Houſe of Commons is compoſed of, in ſuch an aſſemblage of different ſentiments, principles, and intereſts, in ſuch a conflict or combuſtion of wits, arguments, faction, and abſurdity, muſt, for many reaſons, be always conſidered as a firſt-rate ſpeaker. Probably the public may imagine, that we have miſplaced him in this noble and honourable catalogue. It may be ſo; but, after the teſtimony of impartiality we have juſt given, our *judgment alone,* we preſume, will remain to be impeached. Such as it is, however, we muſt follow it; as it is the only guide we have hitherto permitted to lead us, or mean in future to follow: on this ground,

ground, therefore we are not aſhamed to affirm, that Mr. Thurloe is by much the moſt uſeful ſpeaker, and forcible and powerful orator on the part of Adminiſtration in the Houſe of Commons. He combats his adverſaries with almoſt every ſpecies of argument, from the naked, unqualified, unſupported, flat aſſertion, or round contradiction, down to the ſarcaſtic joke. He is always plauſible, and is the beſt advocate in a weak cauſe we ever remember to have heard. Without the graces of elocution, a choſen arrangement of words, a harmony of voice, or diverſity of cadence, there is an expreſſion of countenance denoting a conviction of truth, a manner of preſſing his arguments ſeemingly ariſing from the ſame ſource, accompanied by a certain energy of expreſſion, which, united, render him moſt formidable and powerful in the line of parliamentary perſuaſion. Were his ſpeeches to be committed to paper, were time given to ſeparate the *corn* from the *chaff* and *duſt* which he ſcatters around in order to blind his auditors; were they to be naturally tried by the touchſtone of truth, ſought through the medium of reaſon and ſober inveſtigation; they would often

appear

appear in all their naked deformity; ſophiſtry would be too often found ſubſtituted for argument, and mere confident aſſertion for indiſputable facts: but in the blind heat of debate, where the attack and defence is ſudden and unforeſeen, where majorities are to be *ſoothed*, *hurried*, *miſled*, or *furniſhed* with plauſible *apologies* for their voting againſt their own conviction; where it is the buſineſs, nay employment of the advocate to conceal, exaggerate, or explain away; where the ſpeaker, from his particular ſituation, is far removed from any degree of reſponſibility for his aſſertions, opinions, or public *counſels*; where few are capable of judging, fewer to detect, and where complete detection would be the work of as many days, as the mode of parliamentary diſcuſſion affords hours, Mr. Thurloe is not only a firſt-rate orator, but, to borrow an expreſſion from himſelf, he is an orator of the *firſt impreſſion*.

This ſketch contains almoſt every thing neceſſary to the execution of our plan; but, for uniformity ſake, we will ſay a word or two on the other ſide. His voice is harſh, his manner uncouth,

uncouth, his aſſertions made generally without any great regard to the unities of time, place, or probability. His arguments frequently wild, deſultory, and incoherent. His deductions, when cloſely preſſed, illogical; and his attacks on his adverſaries, and their friends, coarſe, vulgar, and illiberal, though generally humorous, ſhrewd, and *pointedly ſevere*.

MR. EDMUND BURKE. *

THIS gentleman's firſt appearance in public life was at the time of the repeal of the Stamp Act, in the ſpring 1766. He ſupported that meaſure with great zeal and uncommon abilities; and being a young Member, attracted the attention of the Houſe in a very particular manner. His political ſituation grew from his connection with the Marquis of Rockingham, who was then Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, and oſtenſible Miniſter of the day, and to whom Mr. Burke was appointed Secretary. We cannot ſay but it was rather a misfortune for a man of ſuch extenſive talents to come into parliament, and public life, under the immediate *patronage*, and almoſt by the political creation, of a profeſſed formed party, ſuch as that Lord Rockingham was looked upon to be at the head of. The public has a claim to the ſervice of ſuch men, and it is a pity

* An elegant edition of this Gentleman's POLITICAL TRACTS and SPEECHES in one Vol. 8vo. has been lately publiſhed by the Printer hereof.

pity that any attachments of honour, ariſing from perſonal obligation or party engagement, ſhould render the welfare of a man's country an object of but ſecondary conſideration. Whether his conduct has been directed to his own perſonal advantage, or by motives of ſound patriotiſm, is more than we dare attempt to decide on; but we can have no doubt that he has enliſted himſelf a party-man, perhaps more from *conviction* than his accidental *introduction* into public life. Be that as it may, he has acquitted himſelf as a moſt able, faithful, ſteady, and inflexible partizan. He has whitewaſhed the Whigs, and abſolved them of all their political tranſgreſſions, ſince the acceſſion of the Houſe of Brunſwick. He has not affirmed, in expreſs terms, that the law for repealing the triennial Act of William the Third, and for eſtabliſhing ſeptennial parliaments, was a wiſe meaſure; or, ſuppoſing it to be proper *then*, that it ſhould have been continued after the cauſe, for which it was enacted, ceaſed to exiſt; no, he tells you, in his new Whig-creed, * that *wiſe* and *able* men have been of opinion, the incon-

* Thoughts on the National Diſcontents.

inconveniencies ariſing from ſhort parliaments would more than counterbalance the advantages; and ſupported it with the following cogent reaſon, within his own knowledge.—I have obſerved (ſays he) that the Members are always moſt independent in the middle of a ſeſſion, the approaching election always rendering them more pliable and acquieſcent to the prayers or mandates of the Miniſter. We ſhall not trace out this gentleman's principles, and defence of the Whigs, further than to obſerve, he has no objections to Placemen, Officers Naval and Military in the Houſe of Commons, but he does not approve of *Penſioners*. In ſhort, he liked the government of the Whigs very well, and Lord Rockingham's particular adminiſtration beſt of all. On the whole, it is ſufficient to obſerve, that Mr. Burke is the oracle of the party he ſo ably defends; that he is a zealous and an able advocate for the political and commercial rights of America, a warm defender of the propriety of the repeal of the Stamp Act, and a profeſſed oppoſer of every meaſure carried into execution reſpecting that country, but ſuch as originated under the adminiſtration of his noble patron.

No

No man in this country is ſo well qualified, by nature and education, to be Miniſter of the Houſe of Commons. Mr. Burke's powers of perſuaſion would on ſome particular occaſions be irreſiſtible, if not counteracted or reſiſted by the weight and ſolidity of the precious metals. His ſources of knowledge are inexhauſtible and extenſive; and his materials drawn forth with great judgment. His memory is faithful, and his mind teems with the moſt luxuriant imagery, cloathed in the moſt elegant language, and apt and happy mode of expreſſion. His details often are intereſting and important, but always correct: his arguments are plauſible, generally logical, replete with information, and never ſupported upon deſigned miſrepreſentation, or wild random aſſertions, to anſwer the temporary purpoſes of debate. His facts are ſeldom aſſumed, and when they are, he ingenuouſly founds them on certain current opinions, perhaps controverted, but known however to exiſt. This candour at once renders him the faireſt adverſary, and ſtamps his ſpeeches with a certain air of credit, veracity, and authority, ſeldom due to any of

his contemporaries in either Houſe of Parliament. His knowledge of parliamentary buſineſs is ſo vaſt and multifarious, that there is no ſubject that comes under diſcuſſion, whether politics, finances, commerce, manufactures, internal police, &c. with all their diviſions and ſubdiviſions, which he does not treat in ſo maſterly and technical a manner, as to induce ſuch as hear him to imagine he had dedicated a conſiderable portion of his life to the inveſtigation of that particular ſubject. Mr. Burke is not perhaps ſo logical, convincing, judicious and correct, as Lord Camden; nor ſo perſuaſive, graceful, and faſcinating a ſpeaker as Lord Mansfield: but in the laboured detail of office, in connecting meaſures with the motives which brought them into exiſtence, in explanatory obſervations, and in purſuing meaſures to the probable conſequences ariſing from experience, and ſupported by rational deduction, he has moſt undoubtedly no equal. If the impracticability of the American war, the interference of foreign powers, or any other accidental circumſtance, either within or without, ſhould happen, ſo as to render it abſolutely neceſſary

to

to change the ſyſtem which has prevailed at St. James's ſince the commencement of the preſent reign, it is very probable this gentleman might ſucceed to the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer, and that for two reaſons; becauſe we think him the moſt capable man in England for the office, the preſent Chancellor *not* excepted; and becauſe, unleſs in the ſingle inſtance of America and a double Cabinet, the creed of the *modern Tories* and *modern Whigs* ſeem only to differ in name: nor can we diſcover a tittle in Mr. Burke's political opinions, his perſonal attachment to Lord Rockingham only excepted, which would preſent a ſingle obſtacle to his accepting the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer under any Miniſter, who would conſent to transfer the power of the Junto to the reſponſible Cabinet.

This ſketch we preſent to our readers, as a very imperfect attempt to delineate the uncommon parliamentary abilities of this great political genius.—We cannot, however, diſmiſs this ſide of the picture, without obſerving, that his abilities are accompanied with

a very extraordinary inſtance of an union of talents, ſcarcely compatible; for it is difficult to decide whether he ſpeaks or writes better, or whether he deliberates with greater judgment, or plans or directs with greater aptitude, ſagacity, and foreſight.

On the other hand, Mr. Burke is excurſive, injudicious, and pedantic. His wit ſometimes degenerates into buffoonery and ill-nature, and his oratory into bombaſt and mere fuſtian. His voice is not, at the beſt, one of the moſt harmonious; he frequently neglects to manage it, and in the warmth of debate often becomes ſo hoarſe as to render his accents diſſonant, and nearly unintelligible: he has neither a very expreſſive or animated countenance, nor does he ſeem, any more than Phil. Stanhope, to have courted the Graces with any degree of ſucceſs, in point of attitude, or the uſe he makes of his hands, head, feet, and arms.

On the whole, in ſpite of his flights through the regions of imagery, his frequent deviations from the queſtion in debate, his dwelling upon trifles,

trifles, when matters of importance abound, with ſeveral other defects, which are manifeſtly thick-ſown through his harangues, he is indubitably by much the moſt powerful and beſt informed ſpeaker, on either ſide, in the Houſe of Commons.

LORD LYTTELTON.

THIS young Nobleman at a very early period of life felt the effects of party-rage. He was returned for the borough of Bewdly, at the general election in 1768; but the late Noble Lord, his great and amiable father, being then in oppoſition, and many of his diſcourſes proving rather unpalatable to thoſe who led the majority, Volpone, * the old Miniſterial Manager of the Houſe, though then removed to another manſion under the ſame roof, interfered by the means of his agents ſo effectually, as to ſilence the young orator, by giving his ſeat to his opponent, after he had poſſeſſed it for the greater part of the firſt ſeſſion. From thence we hear nothing of him, till his ſucceeding to his ſeat in the Houſe of Peers, on the death of his father. We feel ourſelves embarraſſed in this part of our taſk; for how is it poſſible to delineate the political character of a man, who, ſince his appearance on the public ſtage, has betrayed ſuch a verſatility of conduct?

* Lord Holland.

conduct? Groping our way without any light to guide us, we cannot better expreſs our own judgment, than by having recourſe to a line of the well-known Richard Savage, of illegitimate and poetical memory, in a poem celebrating the advantages ariſing from being born without a father:

—"He ſhines *eccentric*, like a comet's blaze."

If this conveys too vague and indefinite an idea of his political principles, we preſume it may be further illuſtrated by the following ſhort detail of his conduct in Parliament. He has voted with the Court, and againſt it, in the ſame ſeſſion, and that on the great American queſtion. He defended the Quebec bill very warmly, againſt the attack made on it by Lord Chatham. He ſupported the ſame Nobleman in his motion for withdrawing the troops in January 1775 from Boſton.

He continued wavering the remainder of the ſeſſion, till towards the concluſion, when he once more defended the Quebec bill. At the opening of the laſt ſeſſion he ſpoke and voted againſt the

the Addreſs, in anſwer to the King's ſpeech, and maintained this oppoſition on the next great queſtion, relative to the illegality of introducing foreign troops into the garriſons of Gibraltar and Minorca, without the previous conſent of Parliament. Since that time, nay immediately, he ſupported the meaſure chalked out in the ſpeech, without the public communications deſired; and has acquieſced in the meaſure relative to the Hanoverians, though no redreſs, for what his Lordſhip thought fit to call a *groſs* and *open violation* of the *Conſtitution*, has been hitherto given. His Lordſhip holds the abilities and politics of Adminiſtration in a very cheap light; he has told them ſo. He is a Whig in principle, he has declared it; yet he has adopted, ſupported, and *bepraiſed* the meaſures of thoſe very Miniſters, and deſerted thoſe very principles it was his greateſt pride publicly to avow. He votes with Tories, in ſupport of Tory doctrines; he co-operates with men he knows to be acting under the dominion of Tory influence.

We do not by theſe facts, thus ſtated, pretend to decide whether the principles he has taken

taken up, or thoſe he has deſerted, are better ſuited to the genius and the true conſtitution of our government; but we would earneſtly recommend to the Noble Lord to adopt ſome certain ſpecific principles, to adhere to ſome ſyſtem, or to abſtain from giving decided opinions, till, in the language of his noble friend,* he ſhall have learned *to make up his mind.* A glare of talents, an impatience to render himſelf conſpicuous, has led this young Nobleman into many political abſurdities. He ſhould of all things have moſt carefully avoided giving the *tone* in Parliament; he ſhould have ſtaid back, and received it from his ſeniors, men more able, and perhaps *better informed.* There were many reaſons, which do not come within our plan to enumerate, nor would at all be material to our purpoſe, that ſhould have whiſpered to him the impropriety of diſtinguiſhing himſelf as a parliamentary leader. Too eager for power, let him take care, be the event of the preſent party ſtruggles what they may, that ſome unknown unexpected current will not ſet in ſo as to carry him *far wide* of his intended port. His Lordſhip ſeems to be

* Lord North.

fond of traverſe ſailing. Let him beware, however, with *all* his *ſkill*, that he has not *loſt* more way than he *made*, ſince his laſt departure.

His Lordſhip's talents as a public ſpeaker are acknowledged on all hands. His oratory, it is true, is of the declamatory kind; but is, at the ſame time, ſo enriched with general and particular knowledge, by an acquaintance with the greateſt orators of Greece and Rome, ſtrengthened by ſound obſervation, quickneſs of parts, and a ſubtle penetrating genius, as to remove it far above thoſe lifeleſs or paſſionate turbulent harangues, which generally paſs under that deſcription.

The tenor of ſeveral of his *early* ſpeeches, with the energy and animation which accompanied them, were better calculated than any we have heard, to call forth the ſpirit and rouze the indignation and reſentment of the Engliſh nation, in defence of what *his* Lordſhip looks upon to be the conſtitutional rights of this country. His language is flowing, well choſen

and

and correct; his obſervations pointed, and directed with judgment; his delivery ſometimes graceful and animated; never cold, flat, or uncouth. He can reaſon well, and in detail; but it does not ſeem to be his *fort*. Nature, habit, and inclination invite him to aſſail his auditors through the medium of their paſſions; conſequently he deals more in the bold, the inflammatory, and pathetic, than in laboured argument, definition, or logical deduction. He is remarkably judicious in debate, ſeldom deviating, and never loſing ſight of the queſtion under diſcuſſion; and if he does, he always returns in time to the main road, and puſhes forward with redoubled force and augmented vigour; in ſhort, there is in ſome of his ſpeeches a warmth of expreſſion, a ſtrength of colouring, a grace, and a paſſionate delicacy, that are *not* to be found in thoſe of *any other*, in either Houſe of Parliament.

On the other hand, his Lordſhip is too eager for renown, and catches too greedily at perfection. He has over-ſtudied the graces

of

of attitude and of elocution, which ſometimes make him neglect matter, for mere ſound and outſide; and what is rather unfortunate, his labours operate in an inverſe direction; for he frequently manages his voice ſo *dexterouſly* that you cannot hear a ſyllable he utters, and he then appears in the direct act of a poſture-maſter, or a modern harlequin. He is all action, in ſtrict conformity to that ſage advice of the great maſter of his profeſſion. If he had leſs of Garrick and Quintilian in his voice and manner, and more of Lord Camden and Lord George Germain, he would certainly cut a much more reſpectable figure than he does. His voice is but middling at the beſt; and it is certain he has ſpoiled it by a pedantic and theatric affectation of introducing into it a variety of which it will never admit. Like all mere orators, he never wants facts to ſupport arguments, nor arguments of courſe from which he may draw deductions favourable to his cauſe. This is nothing peculiar to him; for it is common to the whole race of orators, from Iſocrates to Charles Townſhend. On the whole, however, Lord

Lyttelton

Lyttelton is at preſent the moſt able ſpeaker on the part of Adminiſtration, after Lord Mansfield; and the moſt able in the Houſe, allowing for all his defects, which are indeed much more numerous than here rehearſed, after the laſt-mentioned noble Lord, and the Lords Camden and Chatham.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM.

AS the political conduct of the ſeveral characters we have already drawn, or mean hereafter to delineate, conſtitutes part of our plan, we find ourſelves much embarraſſed to attempt, within the ſcanty limits ſet to publications of this kind, even a ſketch of the eminent Stateſman and Orator, who is to be the ſubject of this day: one of the moſt celebrated, we will venture to affirm, that has appeared on the public ſtage in this country, or perhaps in Europe, ſince the commencement of the preſent century; whether viewed in the light of an illuſtrious Citizen, ſwaying, leading, controlling, or directing his fellow-ſubjects in their ſeveral combinations, in their conſtituent and legiſlative capacities, up to the great efficient governmental powers of the ſtate; or as operating with no leſs facility, ſucceſs, and irreſiſtible dominion, over the whole and almoſt every individual member of the grand European republic. In this point

of

of view the taſk would indeed be great; luckily, however, it does not properly fall within our province: this great man does not come under our obſervation, for the firſt time, till the year 1766; that remarkable period, when he exhibited in one day to three *aſtoniſhed* kingdoms, in his own perſon, the Stateſman *outwitted*, the Patriot *diſgraced*, and the ſtaunch *Whig* become a *Tory*, as well in *principle* as conduct. We leave to the able Hiſtorian, and the well-informed Memoir-writer, his Lordſhip's detailed character as Prime Miniſter, or rather civil dictator over the Britiſh empire, and the great arbiter of the intereſts of Europe; a work, we dare venture to foretell, which will out-live the language in which it will be firſt written, and the liberties of that country over which he preſided for nearly five years with ſo abſolute a ſway.

It is with infinite reluctance we draw our materials from any thing which may bear the moſt diſtant appearance of private unauthenticated anecdote, or party miſrepreſentation: but as the changes which preceded his Lordſhip's elevation to the Peerage, become neceſſary

ceſſary to place that ſtrange revolution in modern politics in a proper point of view; and as the facts here ſtated were of public notoriety, and remain uncontroverted to this day, or came to the writer's knowledge through a channel by which he could *not* be deceived, he flatters himſelf, ſuch being the ſources he draws from, that he will ſtand fully excuſed to the public for this ſeeming deviation from his original plan.

Lord Bute had ſcarcely retired from the helm, when he *repented* of the ſucceſſor * he had himſelf recommended. A negotiation was therefore opened in the autumn 1763 with Mr. Pitt, and ſome of his friends. He had two or three conferences on the ſubject with a Great Perſonage; but the affair came to nothing. The enſuing ſummer again a larger communication was opened. Lord (now Duke of) Northumberland was talked of for Firſt Lord of the Treaſury. Lords Temple and Lyttelton were invited, and ſeveral conſultations were held at Sion-houſe. This attempt terminated like the laſt, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer kept his ground another ſeſſion.

Thoſe

* Mr. George Grenville.

Thoſe brigues and cabals, it may be well ſuppoſed, greatly diſguſted him. Several direct diſagreements aroſe between him and ſome of his patron's neareſt friends. He imagined he began to take root. Lord Bute's brother was diſmiſſed, in conſequence of that imagination; but he ſoon found to his coſt, that he had at leaſt done a very *imprudent* act, for ſuddenly another negotiation was ſet on foot. Mr. Pitt had been tried directly, and Lord Temple obliquely: now Lord Temple was tried directly in his own perſon. The late Duke of Cumberland was aſſailed, and even ſubmitted to be the bearer of the preliminaries on which the parties were to treat. Lord Lyttelton was propoſed by his noble relation to preſide at the Treaſury or Council-table; and ſeveral other arrangements were partly fixed. This met with the fate of the two former negotiations. Lord Temple refuſed to take part in any Adminiſtration without Mr. Pitt's conſent; the latter did not approve of Lord Bute's interference; and whatever eſteem and veneration they might entertain for his Royal Highneſs as a ſoldier, they freely declared their unwillingneſs to enter into any Adminiſtration in which

which he might be ſuppoſed to have any particular weight and influence among the majority of the Cabinet, as they were very doubtful of his political talents. In this confuſed ſtate of things, the party called the Old Whigs accepted of the offer. Mr. Grenville and the Bedford party were diſmiſſed. Lord Rockingham was called to the Treaſury. This Adminiſtration had many powerful impediments to ſtruggle with, and was ſcarcely formed, when it received a mortal blow by the death of the Duke of Cumberland. It lived its year out, however; and now the laſt fatal attack was to be made on the once great Commoner and able Stateſman. In the ſummer 1766, this attempt ſucceeded. Mr. Pitt applied now to Lord Temple, as the former did to him the preceding year. Lord Temple propoſed Lord Lyttelton for two or three Cabinet appointments. The Preſidency of the Council was ſpoken of. No, replied the great Commoner, that is engaged to Lord Northington, then Secretary of State. No, Conway ſtays in, and Lord Shelburne is to be the other. One or two other places were mentioned: No, ſays the great Commoner, the noble

ble Lord ſhall have a *penſion*. The propoſition was treated with diſdain. The interview ended abruptly on that, as well as ſome other accounts, entirely unneceſſary here to repeat. His Honour was created Earl of Chatham, and appointed Privy Seal. Several of his Lordſhip's moſt ſteady friends were turned out, and ſeveral of his moſt declared enemies either placed or penſioned by *himſelf*; among whom were many of the intimate, and ſome of the confidential friends of the Earl of Bute—Perhaps as worthy men as himſelf.

His Lordſhip's firſt act of power, relative to iſſuing the Proclamation prohibiting the exportation of corn, in direct contradiction to an expreſs act of parliament, with the juſtification of that meaſure in Parliament, has been ſo often canvaſſed, that nothing remains to be ſaid on the matter now, which would ſerve to excuſe or condemn him: the ſubject has been exhauſted, and the merits have been long ſince reduced to a ſingle alternative; whether his Lordſhip meant it as an act of the moſt exalted benevolence, in the execution of which,

as

as one of the writers of the day ſaid, he hazarded his *precious neck*, or whether he did it by way of mere experiment, to know what analogy there was between the power of the modern Council-table, and the Star-Chamber and High Commiſſion Courts, as exiſting in the reigns of the Tudors and the firſt Stuarts, when exerciſed by a great and patriotic Miniſter, for the *good* of his country; nay for its ſalvation, or, as more technically expreſſed by his friend the Chancellor, * *ſalus populi eſt ſuprema lex.* Thoſe are all matters of doubt and uncertainty; but we cannot pretend to *gueſs* from motives of *falſe politeneſs*, where we have the moſt undoubted documents to direct us. His Lordſhip voted the preceding ſeſſion for the repeal of the Stamp Act. He choſe a Chancellor of the Exchequer, † who thought proper to contradict every ſyllable he uttered, and every doctrine he laid down. The American Port duties were the firſt fruits of his adminiſtration. If, according to his *own logic* upon a former occaſion, he wiſhed not to be made reſponſible for meaſures he was not permitted

* Lord Camden. † Charles Townſhend.

mitted to guide, why did not he reſign as ſoon as the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved in the Committee of Supply for laying duties on paper, painters colours, tea, and glaſs, imported into America? Or, at leaſt, why did not he diſmiſs a man who he might eaſily have perceived only wanted to diſgrace him, and who he always knew envied, feared, and deteſted him? His Lordſhip's apologiſts ſay, that it was a ſevere illneſs which prevented his preſence in town, and his attendance in Parliament and the Cabinet. He himſelf has ſaid, that the R——l promiſe of ſupport, countenance, and confidence, was broken, and that his Treaſurer * betrayed him. All this may be ſtrictly true; but our faith does not go, nay cannot be *ſtrained* to the ſlighteſt leaning of credibility to ſo improbable a ſtory: promiſes might have been broken, friends might have been treacherous; but neither falſe friends nor R——l L——rs could hinder him from maintaining his *principles*, and vindicating his injured honour. But enough of the Lord Privy Seal; he went out like a candle's end, and we heard no more of him till the year 1770, when he once more commenced

* Duke of Grafton.

commenced a flaming patriot, and, as far as his health would permit, he has continued *ſo* ever ſince.

If we found ourſelves embarraſſed in ſketching out a few of the leading features of this political phænomenon, in the character of a Stateſman, we find ourſelves no leſs puzzled to ſpeak of him as an Orator. Contrary to the general opinion of the majority of all parties, his Lordſhip is made to give way to Lords Mansfield and Camden; but we repeat once more, that we are guided by nothing but our own judgment, which, however ſlender, we chuſe to follow, becauſe we would rather be taxed with ignorance, than be conſcious of courting popular approbation at the expence of truth, at leaſt of impartiality.

Lord Chatham's oratory differs from any thing we ever heard uttered, or any rule or example extant in writing. It has conſequently one merit, it is all his own; was fabricated by him, and will certainly die with him. The marvellous,

marvellous, the bold, the extravagant, the improbable, are ſeverally his fort.

His oratory in Parliament reſembles the romances of the laſt century, or rather the fictions, abſurdities, and monſtrous tales, which were the offspring of the ignorance, falſe gallantry, and wild enterprizing ſpirit of the middle ages. His talents were brought forth to public view at a moſt favourable time, when an univerſal ſpirit of diſſatisfaction ran through almoſt every degree of people againſt Walpole. He opened a thouſand various batteries of abuſe againſt his adminiſtration. He ſaid every thing that came uppermoſt. He caught the affection and confidence of the people. He ſpread a degree of enthuſiaſm out of doors, which had been ſcarcely ever known before; and, at length, felt the flame in his own breaſt: and thus, from a variety of circumſtances, eſtabliſhed a dominion over his auditors, that Charles Townſhend, Pratt, or Murray, who were infinitely his ſuperiors, either as regular orators or ſound ſpeakers, were never able to obtain. His Lordſhip's talents for public

ſpeaking

ſpeaking are ſo univerſally known, and have been ſo often ably commented on, that little remains to be ſaid; but juſt to give one inſtance of his manner and matter, which will explain how far his mere powers of debate excel his powers of true oratory or ſound reaſoning.—On his motion for withdrawing the troops from Boſton, the beginning of laſt ſeſſion but one, a thrill of aſtoniſhment, accompanied by the ſtilleſt ſilence, pervaded every part of the Houſe, on his ſaying, "Three millions of Whigs with arms in their hands, nearly allied to the Whigs of England and Ireland, will never ſubmit, &c."—This was the ſpecies of oratory by which he was wont to ſtrike his adverſaries *dumb*, make Miniſters *tremble*, and Engliſhmen *enthuſiaſts*. There was, however, one thing which his harangues produced: he perſuaded this nation that they were *irreſiſtible* and *invincible*; he lived to *prove* the *truth* of what he *foretold*; and he is one of the few orators who from deſign, or a mere enthuſiaſtic ſpirit, ever dealt in prophecy, and at the ſame time juſtified his predictions.—But for mere uniformity, his Lordſhip's

ſhip's parliamentary portrait might here be very properly cloſed. His language is neither flowing nor elegant; he frequently repeats the laſt words of the preceding ſentence in order to aſſiſt his memory; he ſcarcely ever attempts to prove any thing; conſequently his facts are moſtly fabricated by himſelf, and his concluſions ſo many dictums raiſed on premiſes, borrowed, invented, or aſſumed.

1768, relative to the duty laid on that commodity, into queſtion. What happened on that occaſion, is too recent in every perſon's memory to require a recapitulation. The tea, in whatever port it arrived, was either ſent back unopened, or was deſtroyed. The people of Boſton led the way; and, as the moſt violent and outrageous, incurred the reſentments of the Court and Adminiſtration. Unwilling, however, to puſh matters to extremity; or fearful, more probably, to raiſe a ſtorm in which they *might* be ſhip-wrecked; the ſeſſion of 1774 commenced, and was held for ſome weeks without any particular notice being taken of the ſtate of affairs in America. A ſpirit of temporizing and procraſtination, ſuch as had for the four preceding years prevailed, ſeemed ſtill to pervade the King's ſervants. A gentleman, * however, ſtrong in oppoſition, broke this miniſterial repoſe. He rouſed the Miniſters from thoſe deceitful, unwholeſome ſlumbers in which they had ſo long remained, ſo much to their own diſgrace, and the diſhonour of the nation. He gave notice, that on a particular day he would move for a Committee

* Colonel Jennings.

mittee of the whole Houſe, to enquire into the American affairs. On that day the Miniſter's *mouth was opened:* he found himſelf preſſed; and made an act of duty, what merely proceeded from *neceſſity*. It was not till the 9th of March 1774, that Lord North moved for a Committee; nor was it till that day, that, for the firſt time, Lord George Germain openly declared his ſentiments upon the ſupremacy of the Britiſh Legiſlature, as a meaſure of Government, over all and every of the dominions and dependencies of the Britiſh Crown. The firſt fruit of the reſolutions come to in the Committee, and which were expreſsly declarative of that right in the moſt unlimited and unconditional terms, was the Boſton Port Bill. His Lordſhip ſupported and defended this bill throughout; but as he only looked upon it to be a mere law of *puniſhment*, no further effectual, than as it might be ſuppoſed to operate on the inhabitants, he ſuggeſted a bill of protection to thoſe who were to be employed in carrying the proviſions of the act into execution. This was the riſe of the bill for the trial of perſons charged with offences in North America, in any other province,

vince, or for bringing them over to England. The law had a double view. It was deſigned to protect the military, when called out to the aid of the civil power, from the prejudiced verdict of a Provincial Jury, as well as to bring offenders in that country to juſtice, either in ſome other colony or in Great Britain. The out-line of this bill was recommended by his Lordſhip. It was adopted with gratitude, and purſued with ſteadineſs by the Miniſter, till it received the royal aſſent. This, and the other which followed it, that for altering the charter of Maſſachuſett's Bay, were both of his Lordſhip's hand, at leaſt the former; and it is now only in the womb of time to decide, whether they were the *wiſeſt*, or moſt *pernicious*, that ever received the ſanction of a Britiſh Parliament.

This Nobleman's political character preſents little more worthy of public notice, till his entrance into office laſt winter, but his voting with the Miniſter upon a declared principle that the Britiſh Parliament have a clear, deciſive, conſtitutional right to bind the American Colonies

Colonies in all caſes whatſoever; and in purſuance of that right, to accept of no conceſſional compromiſe; to accede to no conciliatory propoſition, ſhort of unconditional ſubmiſſion. As his Lordſhip has acted openly, ſo he has adhered to his declarations with all poſſible ſteadineſs. He has given a tone of vigour in deliberation, and alacrity in execution, unknown in the Cabinet or in office before his appointment; and be the event of the preſent *momentous ſtruggle* what it may, truth authorizes us to acknowledge, that as far as people at a diſtance may with confidence pronounce, he is one of the *few* who can be ſelected from *any* party, that has made his official conduct exactly correſpond with his parliamentary declarations, hitherto at leaſt, without any *mixture* of tergiverſation or alloy.

His Lordſhip's abilities as a ſpeaker are univerſally confeſſed. If he be not ſo diffuſive or well informed as Mr. Burke, nor ſo ſubtle, perſuaſive, or confident as Mr. Thurloe, he has very ſingular advantages over either of them. He always confines himſelf to the ſubject of debate.

debate. He never fails to keep ſome point, on which the weight of it turns, ſteadily in view. He approaches with a moderate but ſteady ſtep; and is generally ſure to carry home conviction to the underſtandings, as well as to the hearts of his hearers. His manner is peculiar; his ſtyle is nervous and manly; his language elegance itſelf; and his obſervations pointed, ſententious, and convincing. He never affects to ſay ſhining or witty things, nor lays the leaſt foundation for regret in his auditors, but when he ſits down.

On the other hand, there is a certain failure in his voice, and labour in his delivery, that is not very pleaſing; his cadences are uniform, and far from being harmonious. His Lordſhip does not much abound in that kind of matter which may be ſuppoſed even to lie directly in his way; he deals moſtly in propoſitions controverted by his antagoniſts, and argues from them as principles already proved or aſſented to. His ſpeeches are rather confirmative than perſuaſive; better calculated to keep his friends with him, than to bring proſelytes over

to

to his opinions. In ſhort, his Lordſhip is deficient in illumination, variety and detail; or, if within his reach, neglects to uſe them; by which means the judicious and correct arrangement of his matter is hardly ſufficient to compenſate for his ſeeming obſcurity and ſterility of invention.

COLONEL BARRÉ.

THE rank here aſſigned to this gentleman, as a Parliamentary Speaker, ſecond on the oppoſition liſt in the Houſe of Commons, may probably be controverted by the majority of our readers: but we repeat this apology, that we wiſh to be impartial; that unconnected with faction or even party, whether in or out of adminiſtration, we feel no predilection for any man or *knot* of men whatſoever, but what their public virtue or abilities entitle them to; and farther, that we find very powerful objections to the pretenſions of the *only* two competitors (Mr. Dunning and Mr. Fox) who could have poſſibly ſtood in the way of the precedence here given.

Colonel Barré's firſt appearance within that circle, which is the preſent object of delineation, was under the auſpices of Lord Chatham in 1766, when, as the noble Earl expreſſed himſelf

himſelf on a ſubſequent occaſion, "he found himſelf over-ruled by a ſecret influence, ſuggeſted, nouriſhed, and ſupported, by *ſecret* treachery, official power, and public councils, by which he learned, when it was *too late*, that there was *ſomething* within the Court *greater* than the *King himſelf*." He continued, under this adminiſtration, one of the Vice-Treaſurers of Ireland, till the diſmiſſion of his noble friend, Lord Shelburne, from office, whoſe political fortunes he had ſhared ſince his firſt appearance as a public man; and till that period ſo juſtly deſcribed by the noble Earl firſt mentioned, when "there were not *two* planks of the ſtate veſſel left together, which had been originally launched." He has, with hardly an exception, continued uniformly in oppoſition ever ſince; but as we ſet out with declarations of *impartiality* and unconnection, it is become a part of our duty to mark the leaſt *deviation* in the Colonel from this ſtated line of conduct.

The reſolutions in the Committee of the whole Houſe, in the beginning of the ſpring ſeſſion, 1774, having, we fear, fatally ſpawned

that

that celebrated law called the Boſton Port Bill, as the firſt-born of thoſe meaſures which have produced the preſent civil war in America, it met with the Colonel's ſupport, contrary to every anterior and ſubſequent opinion of his in parliament. This was matter of ſurpriſe at the time, and there were *ſome* who did not heſitate to impute ſo ſudden and unexpected an alteration of ſentiment to motives which have ſince governed ſeveral others, who then ſtood high in the eſtimation of the public, but who have ſince flatly *belied* all their *former* profeſſions, or at leaſt have *learned* to be perſuaded that they were miſtaken or miſled. The obſervation here made, was not barely confined to the ſuſpicions or murmurs of people without doors; it has frequently been objected to him by ſeveral of the Members of Adminiſtration in debate, when he has arraigned, in the moſt unqualified terms, the meaſures of Government, and charged their authors with ignorance, temerity, and injuſtice. We have heard them more than once retaliate on him, in nearly the following words: "The Boſton Port Bill, no matter whether a wiſe, an expedient, or an equitable

equitable meaſure, drew the nation into this war. Why did you ſupport it ſo warmly, with all thoſe powers of oratory and ratiocination, which you ſo eminently poſſeſs? Every thing which has ſince followed grew out of that meaſure. If it was a wiſe meaſure, why not continue to ſupport it? If a bad one, why for a minute lend it your countenance?" The Colonel's anſwer can only be properly decided upon by the monitor reſiding within his own breaſt. He has repeatedly ſaid on thoſe occaſions, "that the Miniſter gave him and his friends, both in and out of Parliament, the moſt full and ſpecific aſſurances, that, if the bill were permitted to paſs both Houſes, with an appearance of firmneſs and unanimity, the Eaſt-India Company would receive reparation for the tea which had been deſtroyed the preceding autumn; that this would produce meaſures of lenity and conciliation at this ſide of the water; that Government meant to relax on certain material points; and that every diſpute ſubſiſting between Great Britain and her Colonies would terminate in the moſt amicable manner, equally for the advantage and honour

honour of both countries. But when this point was *gained*, Adminiſtration feeling themſelves *ſtronger* than they *expected*, they proceeded to hoſtilities on the conſtitutional rights of the Colonies, by following the Boſton Port Bill with the Maſſachuſett's Bay Charter Bill, and that for the removal of offenders in America for trial to another colony, or home to Great Britain." We have ſtated the charge and the defence, and very chearfully *commit* the *whole* to the judgment of our intelligent readers, to decide upon what from us can deſerve no *public opinion*.

From the months of April and May, 1774, the hiſtory of this gentleman's political character may be contained in a nut-ſhell. He has, from that period to the preſent, held up the *higheſt tone* of oppoſition; and has frequently made the Miniſter uneaſy on his ſeat; filling at the ſame time the whole Treaſury Bench with *terror* and *diſmay*.

Colonel Barré's oratory is manly, nervous, and convincing, and ſuch as may be ſuppoſed to have

have actuated the breaſt, and have fallen from the mouth of a Grecian or Roman General, when the Legiſlator, Archon, or Conſul, were able to carry into execution thoſe plans and operations of war, which they propoſed or ſupported in the ſenate or their popular aſſemblies. He is generally well informed, particularly in the way of his profeſſion, and never fails to deliver his ſentiments in open, bold terms, ſeemingly without any predilection for his friends or his opponents, from the former of whom he frequently differs. His matter is not various, but generally ſelected and well choſen. He never ſpeaks on any ſubject of which he is not well informed, and uſually deals in truths too clear to be controverted, and too ſevere to be palliated or defended. The Miniſter of War, * as well as the Miniſter of the Finances, † frequently feels the weight of thoſe truths, and the energy of expreſſion with which they are accompanied and enforced; and that in a manner too pungent and mortifying to be ever *forgotten*, or perhaps *forgiven*.

He

* Lord Barrington. † Lord North.

He is well acquainted with the whole detail of the military eſtabliſhment, with the arrangements dependent on it, and with the proper ordering of the troops, whether directed to operations of war, or in times of domeſtic tranquillity. In ſhort, as he is one of the moſt pointed forcible ſpeakers in the Houſe, though perhaps far from being the greateſt orator, if we were to hazard a conjecture on mere appearance, we are inclined to think that Adminiſtration would eſteem him the moſt valuable acquiſition they could at preſent obtain; and that he is the individual in the Houſe of Commons, on the ſide of oppoſition (Meſſrs. Burke, Dunning, or Fox, not excepted) in the preſent ſtate of things, whoſe defection would deſerve moſt to be regretted.

On the other hand, Colonel Barré, though a man of letters, does not poſſeſs the extenſive funds of knowledge for which ſome of his partizans are ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed. The early part of his days was paſſed in camps, and learning the rudiments of his profeſſion, *not* in Courts or Senates. His oratory has few of

thoſe

thoſe graces which recommend even trifles. He ſeldom directs his elocution ſo as to gain the avenues to the heart; and when he makes the attempt, he always miſſes his way; he never ſtudied the graces; or if he did, he made as unſucceſsful a progreſs as Phil. Stanhope. He ſpeaks like a ſoldier, thinks like a politician, and delivers his ſentiments *like a man*. On the whole, he may and ought to profit from the ſneers of his antagoniſts. They call him the *Story Teller*, and with great juſtice; for whether it be the ſalvation of a great empire, or a ſkirmiſh with a few wild Indians, the Colonel is never at a loſs for a ſtory in point, in which he himſelf had the fortune to be one of the *Dramatis Perſonæ*.

We will cloſe this rude ſketch, by affirming, that we have heard him interlard ſome of his moſt pointed ſpeeches on the moſt important occaſions, with anecdotes that would diſgrace a ſchool-boy at the Chriſtmas receſs; or a garrulous old woman, when ſhe takes it into her head to be moſt narrative, unintereſting, and loquacious.

LORD HILLSBOROUGH.

AT the commencement of the period, to which we have limited the grounds of information, which we propoſe from time to time to lay before the public, namely, the *change* of Adminiſtration in 1766, under the auſpices of the Earl of Chatham, we find the noble Lord, whoſe character as a public man, and abilities as a public ſpeaker, are to furniſh the ſubject of this day, provided for as a court *veteran* of *tried* ſervice, on *half-pay*, by being put into poſſeſſion of that lucrative appointment, Poſt-Maſter-General of the Britiſh empire. He was too great and *uſeful* a ſervant, and too able and *confidential* a ſupport to that *ſyſtem*, introduced at the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, to be permitted to ſuffer in the ſtruggles of *party*.

As ſoon therefore as certain *cloſet* aſſurances had unhappily lulled Lord Chatham into a fatal ſecurity; as ſoon as the intrigues of the Junto had ſucceeded, ſo as to *detach* the Firſt Lord of the

the Treaſury (Duke of Grafton) from his *principal*; and finally, as ſoon as, through ſimilar arts, and the unbounded ambition and unprecedented verſatility and vanity of the man, the very Chancellor of the Exchequer (Charles Townſhend) whoſe buſineſs it was to ſupport the meaſures of the Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury in the Houſe of Commons, at once *betrayed* his *engagements* as a Man, and his *office* as a Miniſter, by driving the venal herd of St. Stephen's into the meaſures of American taxation; the moment arrived in which his *old friends* ſaw the neceſſity of bringing Lord Hillſborough into a ſituation, which would enable him to co-operate in their deſigns. It was not, however, till early in the year 1768, ſome months after the death of that *blazing meteor*, * that compound of great talents and great folly, of *ſpeculative virtue* and actual *meanneſs* and *duplicity*, that his Lordſhip was appointed Secretary of State for the American Colonies. Hitherto the office bore another name, that of Firſt Lord or Commiſſioner of Trade and Plantations; but in proportion to the magnitude of the objects then in

* The late Charles Townſhend.

in contemplation by the *choſen few*, and the known deſerts and ſecret diſpoſition of the man, a greater *eclat* was given to this new appointment than had been known ſince the days of Edward the Sixth. A third Secretary of State was added, the whole power of the Board was inveſted in him, and the arduous undertaking of alternately bullying and ſoothing the Colonies, as circumſtances ſerved, was committed to the hero of theſe memoirs.

The Port duties, laid on in 1767 by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as has been before obſerved, contrary to the ſentiments of the oſtenſible Miniſter,* and the young Whig† Firſt Lord of the Treaſury, having occaſioned the reſolution and united determination of the Colonies *not to import* any article of Britiſh growth or Britiſh commerce, the firſt official act of our new Secretary was the writing of that famous letter to the reſpective Governors of the Colonies, deſiring them to aſſure the ſeveral Aſſemblies, as a matter *previouſly conſidered*, and *finally determined on* in Cabinet, that *no* further taxes for the purpoſe of raiſing a revenue

* Earl Chatham. † Duke of Grafton.

a revenue in America ſhould be laid on, raiſed, or levied by a Britiſh Parliament; and that if they (the Governors) could prevail on the reſpective Aſſemblies for the *preſent* to *acquieſce* in the Port duties, they were inſtructed likewiſe to *promiſe*, for Adminiſtration, that a formal acquieſcence was *all* that was deſired; for it was the intention of Government, not not only to *relax*, but to take the firſt opportunity to procure a *repeal* of them, the mere unexerciſed right being all that was actually inſiſted on.

We do not pretend to affirm, that theſe were the literal contents of this very memorable circular letter; but we are confident, that taking its naked import, and coupling that with the *ſoul* and ſpirit that was *breathed* into it on the other ſide of the Atlantic, this engagement on the part of Adminiſtration, ſuppoſed likewiſe to contain the real ſentiments and ultimate reſolutions of a Britiſh Parliament, was the conſtruction in which it was meant it ſhould be underſtood by the Aſſemblies of every province, from Nova-Scotia to South-Carolina incluſive.

The

The next matter of importance we find his Lordſhip concerned in, was his diſputes with the new-eſtabliſhed Colony of Grenada. In this affair, after a very long and warm conteſt, he was more fortunate; for he at length prevailed ſo far as to introduce the Roman Catholics into the Council of that iſland, contrary to every principle of the Britiſh conſtitution as by law eſtabliſhed.—The Governor, for oppoſing this unwarrantable ſtretch of the prerogative, was called home; and in the end diſmiſſed or diſgraced.

In the year 1772, this faithful ſervant, this *high-prerogative* Miniſter, was to depart, like a full-fed gueſt, with all his bluſhing honours thick upon him. He was created an Engliſh Earl; and though Lord Dartmouth was appointed to ſucceed him, he was, and is ſtill, eſteemed one of the moſt firm, able, and faithful ſupporters of what generally paſſes under the denomination of the *Court* ſyſtem. His vacating his ſeat at the Cabinet table, and the reſignation of Bernard, were found neceſſary. A *new* attempt was to be made; America was to be *led*, not drove; America was to be *divided*,

vided, under the appearance of conciliation and conceſſion.—This could not be effected under the direct adminiſtration of a man, who was neither *believed* nor depended upon by a ſingle individual from Hudſon's Bay to Penſacola.

His Lordſhip never meant, however, to remain an idle or inactive ſpectator. The new modelling of the charter of the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay is ſaid to be the work of his hands. Be that as it may, he defended it in debate in the Houſe of Lords on the 14th of March 1776, with all the affection and partiality which parents are apt to betray for their own offspring; and attributed the whole of the preſent civil war to its *not* being adopted, and carried into execution earlier.

The Quebec bill, it is reported, owes ſome of its boldeſt lineaments to the ſame quarter; while the hardſhips which the poor *afflicted* ſlaves on the American continent ſuffer from their *mercileſs* Egyptian taſk-maſters, it is believed, have been often *lamented* bitterly by his Lordſhip in private.

Theſe

Theſe we look upon to be rather the effect of factious rancour and popular ſurmiſe; for how is it poſſible that thoſe ſeveral meaſures, particularly the intention of emancipating the ſlaves, could have originated with his Lordſhip, when they have been ſeparately charged to the account of Lord Bute, and Lord Mansfield, we preſume, with equal juſtice? unleſs at the ſame time we *ſolve* the difficulty, by ſuppoſing that thoſe reſpectable perſonages clubbed their wits in effecting the glorious and arduous undertaking; a ſuppoſition ſtill, if poſſible, *more improbable*, and bearing infinitely leſs the appearance of *truth*.

His Lordſhip, though hardly entitled to a ſeat on the ſecond form, as a public orator, is undoubtedly one of the moſt uſeful and plauſible ſpeakers on the part of Adminiſtration. The ground he takes in relation to American affairs is exactly the ſame occupied by Lord George Germain, as to the ſupreme right of the BritiſhLegiſlature. He ſuppoſes the right to tax to be included in the general ſupremacy, and the alteration of charters, and the force neceſſary

to

to carry either or both into effectual execution, to flow conſequently from the ſupreme power of the ſtate over the ſeveral component parts of the Britannic empire. He is certainly a man of buſineſs; and, from a long acquaintance with it in its ſeveral forms, both in Office, Council, and Parliament, is able, with moderate talents, to do more than any man with double his capacity on either ſide of the queſtion. His harangues are rather heavy, and want illumination; nevertheleſs he poſſeſſes more judgment in debate, in proportion to his talents, than any man in either Houſe. If he is ſlow, he is tolerably ſure. The arrangement of his matter is always judicious and correct; and whenever he fails, it is more from a ſterility of genius, than from any want of ſound judgment. He is rather convincing than perſuaſive; has more of the courtier than the logician, and of the mere declaimer than the orator. In fine, he is the child of *labour* and *induſtry*, not of genius; and has verified, in ſome meaſure, what the ancient biographers report of Demoſthenes, that perſeverance and induſtry will ſurmount any thing; for with a

perſon, voice, mien, and elocution far below par, we venture to pronounce him the third beſt ſpeaker on the part of Adminiſtration in the Houſe of Peers.

DUKE OF GRAFTON.

THE political character of this Nobleman, while it will exhibit as marvellous and aſtoniſhing a ſucceſſion of events as any which have happened, either in Court, Parliament, or Cabinet, the laſt ninety years, will likewiſe include in it an account of every material meaſure which originally promoted or led to the preſent unnatural civil war raging in America.

Upon the arrangements propoſed and carried into execution, under the patronage and interference of the late Duke of Cumberland, in 1765, commonly called the Rockingham Adminiſtration, his Grace was appointed one of the Secretaries of State, and continued in that ſituation till after the concluſion of the ſeſſion, when he thought proper to reſign about the month of June 1766.

This reſignation, or ſudden deſertion of his friends, is what has puzzled every man, who

does not chuſe to form his opinions on mere popular reports, or party miſrepreſentations, originating in vain ſurmiſes, in exaggerated anecdotes, or in ſpleen, diſappointment, and perſonal pique.

In this ſtate of indeciſion we have nothing to do but report facts, and leave the public to form their concluſions.

Some time in the courſe of the ſeſſion, finding a moſt formidable oppoſition to the meaſures of Adminiſtration, he lamented its weakneſs, and ſaid, for his part, he could not think of much longer remaining a member of it; becauſe, with the beſt diſpoſitions to ſerve their country, the preſent Miniſters every day experienced a want of ſupport both in Parliament and *elſewhere*. He added, though he poſitively intended to reſign, that he would, if called upon again, chearfully join in any future Adminiſtration that ſhould be formed upon a larger baſis, particularly if a certain great man, * a leading member of the other Houſe, were to be at the head of it.

On

* Mr. Pitt.

On this open declaration in Parliament, two obſervations were made at the time, by a few. In two months after, they were repeated with more confidence, and became more generally believed. The firſt political conjecture was, that his Grace had learned, that his party had loſt their power, and that a change of Miniſtry was ſoon to take place, in the arrangement of which Mr. Pitt was to take the lead: the other, which was rather the effect of what followed, than of any thing which then appeared, that his Grace was employed to throw out this hint as a bait to the great man, the matter being previouſly conſidered and determined on, in order to *ſtrip* him of his popularity. None of theſe ſecret tranſactions can in our opinion be decided, but by the parties themſelves. Every one, on ſuch occaſions, will or ought to think for himſelf; under that privilege we can hardly be perſuaded that his Grace deſignedly ſtooped ſo low as to be the pimp, ſpy, or tool of any party, much leſs of the avowed authors of a Court ſyſtem, formed on the moſt rigid doctrines of Filmer, Leſlie, and Barclay. He was liable to error, but we can hardly bring ourſelves to believe that he

was

was actuated by treachery, or ſwayed by deliberate malice.

The time ſoon approached, when his Grace was to appear entirely in a new light. On the advancement of Mr. Pitt to the Peerage, in Auguſt 1766, his Grace was appointed Firſt Lord of the Treaſury; the new-created Earl of Chatham Lord Privy Seal, being ſuppoſed to be the oſtenſible Miniſter. His Lordſhip's illneſs depriving the young Firſt Commiſſioner of his aſſiſtance, the nominal command, of courſe, devolved on his Grace. A kind of political juggle took place. Charles Townſhend wavered, ſtaggered, and fell. Lord Chatham threw himſelf on the illuſtrious Houſe of Bedford. The new Financier grew giddy from pride or incapacity; or rather, we ſuſpect, through the arts of thoſe who were ſet about him to betray him. At this fatal inſtant, in the very whirlwind of folly, treachery, vanity, and treaſon *againſt the country*, were the deareſt intereſts of the Britiſh empire ſacrificed. The old Whigs, under Lord Rockingham, were either diſgraced or ſeduced; the new-

new-created Earl was compelled, by the moſt inequivocal proofs, to write a *ſatire* on all future patriots, and pretenſions to public ſpirit; and the noble Duke who is the ſubject of the preſent obſervations, after taking the moſt vigorous and decided part in the repeal of the Stamp Act, through the treachery of his Chancellor * of the Exchequer, the influence of the Cloſet, the ſudden change of ſentiments of that hallowed manſion, and the conſequences ariſing from ſuch a change of ſentiments among the King's Friends, at leaſt acquieſced in the American Port duties.

From that fatal inſtant, every thing dear, important, and valuable to this country, was alternately ſacrificed to the dark dangerous deſigns of a ſet of men, whom *nobody* knows, *ſomebody* pays and employs to effect his deſpotic purpoſes; whom nobody can name, without hazarding an act of the moſt cruel injuſtice; whoſe cabals Britain hath ſeverely felt the effects of, and her children, to the lateſt poſterity, may probably have cauſe to execrate in the bitterneſs of their hearts.

It

* Charles Townſhend.

It is no part of our plan to enter into any diſcuſſion on the right of the Commons of Great-Britain to tax unrepreſented America, though we do not retain a ſingle doubt of the impolicy and inexpediency of endeavouring to effect it by force of arms. Be that as it may, it is our duty to relate the part the Duke of Grafton took in that buſineſs, as Firſt Lord of the Treaſury. This we find very fully ſtated in his ſpeeches in Parliament, ſince his reſignation of the office of Privy Seal, at the opening of the laſt ſeſſion, and in part confirmed by his brother Miniſters; becauſe, if the facts were at firſt denied, when afterwards re-aſſerted, and frequently repeated by his Grace, they effectually received the fulleſt and faireſt ſtamp of authenticity; the objections or denials on the part of Adminiſtration containing little more than mere quibbles on words, and miſtakes relative to trivial circumſtances. Two of theſe, out of many others, we ſhall give as a ſpecimen. The Duke of Grafton aſſerted, that he was *out-voted* in Cabinet. Lord Weymouth, denied it, and inſiſted, the numbers were *equal*. This was on the 5th of March laſt. On the 14th his Grace inſiſted he was right;

right; ſaid he had looked over his papers, and found a note from Lord Hillſborough, who informed him that the queſtion was carried againſt him by a majority of one. On this laſt day, Lord Hillſborough denied the ſending the Cabinet note; but neither his Lordſhip nor Lord Weymouth preſumed to controvert the fact, of his Grace being out-voted. His defence on conſenting to the Port duties laid on in 1767, was ſhortly this: That when the American military eſtabliſhment came before the Committee of Supply, the Houſe of Commons roſe as one man, and inſiſted, that the Coloniſts ſhould be obliged to contribute towards the public burdens; particularly, that they ſhould make ſome equivalent for the eſtimates now voting. On applying to ſuch of the members of Adminiſtration as were of the other Houſe, they aſſured him that all reſiſtance would be vain. This not ſatisfying him, he was determined to oppoſe the bill in the Houſe of Lords; but was prevailed on at length to deſiſt, on the mere motive of impropriety; as he was confidently aſſured, that any oppoſition to a money-bill, in that Houſe, would be highly reſented by the Commons;

would create a breach between the two Houſes; and might in the end be productive of the very worſt conſequences, both to Government and to the public in general. It did not, however, prevent him from expreſſing his diſapprobation of the bill, and informing their Lordſhips, in one of its ſtages, that the meaſure was *not* his; but that, ſince the other Houſe ſeemed reſolved to aſſert the right, he did every thing in his power to render the law as palatable and innoxious as poſſible, by coupling the duty on tea with an actual ſaving of nine-pence *per* pound, by granting a drawback of the whole duty of one ſhilling *per* pound on exportation of that commodity to America, and laying on only three-pence on importation into that country in lieu thereof. This is his Grace's ſtate of the part he took in the Port duties. In 1769, however, when he found that all his predictions relative to the folly and bad policy of taxing America had been fatally verified, he reſolved to make another attempt to reſcue this country from the ruin and miſery with which it is now threatened. With that view, he moved in the Cabinet in 1769, that the American Port duties ſhould be totally

tally repealed; but he was at length outvoted by a majority of one, as has been before obſerved. Here the intelligent reader will be apt to aſk, why his Grace did not reſign, at leaſt in the latter inſtance, when he found himſelf thus thwarted, counteracted, or overruled. It is not our buſineſs, as merely relating facts, to become an advocate *for* or *againſt* any man: but we preſume to ſay, that there may be ſituations, into which a Miniſter *may* be led by the *arts* of Court ſeduction, or his own inexperience, credulity, or folly, that it may not be ſafe or expedient for him to tell the truth, or aſſert his own innocence; and that there may be ſituations and circumſtances, likewiſe, when and where it may be as *hazardous* to ſeek or regain the confidence of his quondam *friends* and aſſociates, as to refuſe to execute the *dirtieſt* work of his mercileſs ſeducers and taſk-maſters. Theſe, it is true, are no more than mere conjectures; but, we truſt, the day of reckoning is not far off, when thoſe, and ſeveral other tranſactions of no leſs importance to the well-being of this diſtracted empire, will be laid open in all their naked deformity.

There

There is one meaſure, that of the Middleſex election, and the previous expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, which has been ſolely attributed to his Grace. Whether this meaſure originated with him, or was dictated as an act of duty, we hold him equally *reſponſible* to the people. If he acted on pure principles of conviction, we feel for him as an honeſt, miſled man; if he carried it through both Houſes, contrary to his own opinion, and as a ſacrifice at the ſhrine of magiſtratical oppreſſion and revenge, we do not heſitate to affirm, that his neareſt and warmeſt friends and admirers have good reaſon to lament, that war entered the Royal cloſet.

His Grace reſigned, in 1770, the poſt of Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, and ſtill continued to ſupport the meaſures of the Court. His obedience to the wiſhes of his Royal Maſter, and his approbation of the meaſures purſued by thoſe from whom he had juſt parted, were ſo kindly received by the perſon who had it in his power to reward him, that he did not long continue out of office. He was, in the ſucceeding June twelvemonth, appointed Lord Privy

Privy Seal; in which poſt he remained till his late reſignation, when he declared boldly and openly againſt the meaſures now purſuing againſt America.

The two firſt ſeſſions after the commencement of the preſent troubles in America, he ſpoke and voted with Adminiſtration. The reaſons aſſigned by his Grace for his alteration of conduct were, that he had not ſufficient information to determine his judgment; that ſuch as was imparted to him, was *falſe*, or the facts were *miſrepreſented*; that he always diſapproved of coercing America by force of arms, but hoped in the beginning that the people of that country would ſubmit; that being thus miſinformed, he ſupported meaſures he would otherwiſe never have conſented to; that although the right had been clear, the aſſerting of it in the preſent ſtate of our finances, and of the other powers of Europe, would be inexpedient; that the point of inexpediency became ſtill more glaring and manifeſt, when the real ſtrength and ability of America came to be revealed, and the actual diſpoſition of its inhabitants ſeriouſly and attentively conſidered;

and

and that the only two ſpecific meaſures relating to America, which he ſupported ſince the ſpring ſeſſion 1774, were the Boſton Port and Charter bills, which he had been ſolely induced to do upon falſe or ill-grounded information, being aſſured by thoſe whoſe buſineſs it was to be thoroughly acquainted and perfectly ſatisfied of the real diſpoſition of the inhabitants of Boſton, and the people of Maſſachuſett's Bay, that it was in the former inſtance the intention of the Boſtonians to make reparation for the tea to the Eaſt-India Company; and in the latter, the earneſt wiſh of the principal land-owners, merchants, and tradeſmen of that province, to have their charter altered and modified. Thus, he ſaid, he had been all along *deceived* directly in matters of fact, *miſled* in matters of opinion, and conſtrained, either to give his ſupport *blindfolded*, or withhold it on principle—In ſuch a maſs of facts, and ſuch a contradiction in conduct, it is impoſſible to argue even with plauſibility, much leſs decide with candour or preciſion: but it ſeems on a tranſient view, uninformed as we are of the true motives which actuated his Grace, rather a little unfortunate that his eyes were

not

not opened *earlier*, or that he truſted ſo *much* and ſo *long* to thoſe of others; for moſt indubitably, in point of *pure principle*, unconnected with the events of war, there did not exiſt a ſingle reaſon for his ſupporting the Duke of Richmond's motion on the 5th of March, 1776, which did not hold equally ſtrong, for his ſupporting that made by Lord Chatham, almoſt in the ſame words, full thirteen months before.

We have waded through this painful taſk with no ſmall degree of reluctance, if not diſguſt, becauſe we found ourſelves under the neceſſity to perform it at this very important criſis, in order that the nation, if our ſituation ſhould become more critical, may know and look up to thoſe who are ſuppoſed only to have it in their power to relieve them; namely, the powerful and diſtinguiſhed leaders in both Houſes: and yet we have been compelled to the mortifying neceſſity, ſo far as we have hitherto proceeded, to impreſs ſubſtantially on the minds of our readers this eternal truth, that every public man on *either* ſide has given, in ſome *one* part or *other* of his political conduct,

duct, the moſt irrefragable teſtimonies of his want of talents, or want of principle; or, which comes nearly to the ſame point, a compound of both indolence, inattention, and indifference to the true intereſts of his country.

The Duke of Grafton is one of the moſt perſuaſive, or rather pathetic ſpeakers in the Houſe. His ſpeeches are delivered in the ſtyle of a gentleman and a ſcholar. His language is choſen, chaſte, and correct. His judgment in arranging his matter is not excelled, perhaps not equalled, by any on either ſide of the Houſe. He may be ſometimes flat and confuſed, but he is never vulgar, ſlovenly, or ignorant. As he is a ſtrict obſerver of the decorum of debate, and the dignity of the auguſt aſſembly in which he has the honour to ſit, any deviation from it while he is up, ſuch as talking, changing ſeats, &c. is very apt to diſconcert him, and diſarrange his ideas. From the ſame mode of thinking, he is ready to catch fire when any coarſe or ſarcaſtic expreſſions fall from his antagoniſts, or when any thing perſonal is directed to himſelf; but even then

then he generally reſtrains his feelings, and retorts with the energy and dignity becoming his elevated rank and ſenatorial ſituation. Lord Mansfield has more than once *felt* the effects of this iraſcible diſpoſition, and that even before his Grace came over to Oppoſition; ſince when there ſeems a certain acrimony, whenever an opportunity happens, in all his ſpeeches, hinting, if not directly pointed towards that noble and learned Lord. How far this can be reconciled to his former ſituation, when in high office, and when the learned Lord was ſuppoſed to influence thoſe counſels which his Grace, as Prime Miniſter for nearly four years, was preſumed to direct, we do not pretend to determine. He is equally liberal of his hints of pernicious counſels having been given, and of the impreſſions they may have made in a place, where in the world they ought to be ſooneſt reſiſted. He has even ventured ſo far as to liken addreſſes of a more modern date to thoſe preſented to the infatuated James the Second; and, not ſtopping there, has ſpoken of the poſſibility, if not probability, of a ſimilar cataſtrophe. He has reprehended the King's ſervants in the ſtrong-

eſt

eſt terms for their deſpotic doctrines in Parliament, and their correſpondent meaſures, and lamented, in the face of the whole nation, the dangerous effects ſuch doctrines may be productive of, when it is known that they are promulgated, and publicly aſſerted and maintained by thoſe who have equally the will and opportunity of endeavouring to inſtil them into the *Royal ear*. On the whole, as he is one of the moſt able, ſo if he could once more regain the *confidence* of the party he at firſt embarked with, and the *favour* and *good opinion* of the public, he would be, without queſtion, by much the moſt formidable opponent to the meaſures of the Court in either Houſe of Parliament.

MR. WEDDERBURNE,

SOLICITOR-GENERAL.

AS we have profeſſed, at the outſet of this undertaking, that we meant to abſtain from all perſonal anecdote, or even to puſh our political inquiries farther back than the memorable period of 1766, we find ourſelves under the neceſſity of taking the firſt notice of this gentleman in that year, in the political *ſuite* of the late Mr. George Grenville, ſharing his fortunes, and inſpired by the ſame active zeal for the honour and intereſts of his country. Mr. Wedderburne's great talents had not as yet blazed forth in their *meridian luſtre*; and we do not find that he drew the attention of the public to any extraordinary degree till about the year 1768, in the affair of the Middleſex Election, when his patron very *conſiſtently* took it into his head to oppoſe, in the moſt marked and forcible manner, the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, though under his own adminiſtration, but juſt four years before, the ſame

Mr.

Mr. Wilkes was expelled, for the very ſame crime, with the addition of abuſing a Secretary of State in the news-papers. Mr. Wedderburne now exerted himſelf as much in the defence of Mr. Wilkes, as he ever did before in his condemnation; and at length, to convince ſuch as might not probably be perſuaded that he was in *earneſt*, he made a public tour throughout the ſeveral ridings, towns, and diſtricts in the extenſive county of York, to warn them of the dangers with which they and all the freeholders of Great Britain were threatened, on account of the late unconſtitutional, corrupt deciſion of the Houſe of Commons, in the affair of the Middleſex Election. So zealous was he in his endeavours to procure ſatisfaction for the wound the conſtitution received by that deciſion; and ſo hoſtile was he, even to his intimate friends, when they differed with him on this point; that having been returned for the borough of Richmond, in *comitatu Ebor.* through the intereſt of his worthy friend Sir Laurence Dundas, he applied for the Chiltern Hundreds, ſooner, it was ſuppoſed, than owe a ſeat in Parliament to a perſon whoſe political ideas were

were ſo fatally *contaminated* by ſentiments and opinions, inculcated by the leaders of a *Court ſyſtem*, which he did not heſitate to reprobate in *all* its parts.

It is enough to ſay, that he purſued this line of conduct uniformly till the death of his friend and patron Mr. Grenville, in the winter 1771, a few days before the meeting of Parliament; and that he has ever ſince been as ſteady a friend to Adminiſtration, as he was, while Mr. Grenville lived, a warm and able adverſary. Among many other proofs of what is here looſely aſſerted, his conduct during the ſeſſion of 1770, generally called the *Horned Cattle Seſſion*, furniſhes two very ſtriking ones. The firſt of theſe was on Mr. Dowdeſwell's motion, "That the Houſe of Commons is bound, in all matters of election, by the law of the land, and the cuſtom and uſage of Parliament, being part of the law thereof:" the other, as more particularly militating againſt his preſent conduct, may not be unworthy of public attention.

It was on the 9th of May, 1770, on a motion of Mr. Burke's for the production of American papers, and ſeveral reſolutions moved in conſequence thereof, that Mr. Wedderburne, in reply to Lord Clare (now Earl Nugent) if we recollect right, delivered himſelf nearly to the following purport: He ſaid, he was really *aſtoniſhed* to *ſee* with what *eaſe* and confidence *ſome* great Stateſmen could *reconcile* the moſt marked inconſiſtencies between *conduct* and *opinion*; that his Lordſhip had, in his own perſon, not only given the fulleſt teſtimony that ſuch things might happen, but that they were avowed without bluſhing or apology; that if he had not been *convinced* by what he now heard, he imagined his Lordſhip would have been one of the laſt men breathing to charge others with verſatility in politics, when he himſelf could take a poſt at the head of the American department, under a Miniſtry that had repealed the Stamp Act, upon the principle of being againſt *all* American taxation, though the noble Lord but the very preceding ſeſſion ſupported the Stamp Act with all his might. From the ſhort time it took his

Lordſhip,

Lordſhip, and ſome other great Miniſters, * to ſettle theſe contrarieties, it was evident that the *concealed* authors of the preſent ſyſtem of American meaſures had the addreſs to unite perſons and parties of the moſt contradictory opinions; and ſuch being the caſe, he truſted it would likewiſe unite their opponents to purſue one ſteady plan of action, that of preventing the impending ruin of this country, by the total loſs of its American dominions.—He ſhewed (or he rather predicted) that by the meaſures then purſuing (and ſince unhappily adhered to) America, which in the reign of *George* the *Second* conſtituted a part of the Britiſh empire, would in the reign of *George* the *Third* be totally *diſſevered* from it; that the American colonies had ceaſed to be Britiſh dominions, and were no more ſo now than Calais, which, as well as they, was once an Engliſh province. He then turned to the creating a new office, that of Secretary of State for the Colonies, which he inſiſted could not be legally nor conſtitutionally done; that the precedent quoted from the reign of Edward the Sixth was a miſerable pretext for evading a poſitive law, with the

* Suppoſed to mean the Duke of Grafton.

the dark deſign of placing a *favourite* and obſequious willing *ſlave* at the head of the American department. That obedience was the chief, nay the only merit, ſought or expected by thoſe who had the diſpoſal and arrangement of all the great, efficient, and reſponſible offices of the ſtate. If that were not the true ſtandard of merit, he was ſatisfied that ſome perſon, whoſe knowledge of commerce, experience in the ſyſtem of our colonies and plantations, whom prudence, firmneſs, and a well-grounded conduct marked more particularly, would have been fixed on to fill ſo weighty and important a poſt. He was ſorry, however,—yet he felt himſelf compelled to declare, in the moſt expreſs terms, that the Miniſter * put at the head of that ſcarcely legal department, was *not* fit for it; that his conduct was ſuch as called for his removal; and that he thought theſe reſolutions, moved by his honourable friend (Mr. Burke) led by the juſteſt ſteps to what muſt produce that effect.

This

* Lord Hillſborough. † Lord North.

This was Mr. Wedderburne's *celebrated* ſpeech; and ſuch were his ſentiments and opinions, and, ſorry we are to add, *predictions* on the 9th of May, 1770. Pity it is, particularly ſince he was called to aſſiſt the preſent Adminiſtration, and was appointed private *tutor* to the great State Atlas, † that he neither believed thoſe predictions himſelf, or if he did, that he was never able to perſuade either his pupil, the Cabinet, the Junto, or his facetious antagoniſt, Robert Earl Nugent of the kingdom of Ireland, to attend to them.

The remainder of Mr. Solicitor's political character would cut a better figure by way of diary than any other, could we poſſibly recollect the dates. Diſpenſing, however, with an exact compliance with thoſe minutiæ, we ſhall ſtudy brevity and faithfulneſs in the following looſe ſketch as much as poſſible. In November, 1770, Mr. Grenville died; the day after he was buried, Mr. Wedderburne began, for the firſt time, to diſtruſt his own predictions. During the ſpring ſeſſion, 1771, having promiſed to falſify every one of them on the ſame

† Lord North.

day, viz. on the 23d day of January, he was appointed Solicitor-General and Cofferer to her Majeſty. In the courſe of the next ſeſſion he ſupported the Royal Marriage bill, with a *credit*, *logic*, and *countenance*, perfectly peculiar to himſelf.—In 1773, he ſhielded the *ſame* noble Lord, whoſe character and abilities he had treated with ſo much *contempt* in his ſpeech, as above faithfully recited, from the envenomed attacks of his adverſaries, on account of his conduct reſpecting the Carib lands in the iſland of St. Vincent. He was looked upon, during the ſame ſeſſion, to be the great ſupport of Lord North, in the carrying through the bill for new modelling the Eaſt-India Company.—In fine, he ſupported Adminiſtration through *thick* and *thin*, in every meaſure, but on the motion for reſcinding the reſolution on the Middleſex election; on that occaſion his firmneſs, modeſty, and independent ſpirit, have been rendered moſt ſpecially conſpicuous, inaſmuch as that he has either abſented himſelf on that day, or has actually divided *againſt* the Miniſter.

This

This part of our taſk draws nearly to an end; and were it not to ſhew the diffidence of the man, and the doubt, nay the actual diſbelief and non-reliance he had on his own predictions, we ſhould never have thought of mentioning the following curious fact, or the conſequences of which it was productive.

On the 9th of March, 1774, Lord North having in a Committee of the whole Houſe moved ſeveral reſolutions, declarative of the ſupreme right the Legiſlature of Great Britain have to bind America in all caſes whatever, Mr. Solicitor roſe, and, in a ſpeech of upwards of an hour long, ſpoke in defence of the reſolutions at large; and, as the firſt ſtep, recommended ſome law, which would effectually puniſh the actors and authors of the late riot at Boſton. Thoſe reſolutions, on the report, were ſeverally agreed to, and produced the Boſton Port, Adminiſtration of Juſtice, Charter, Quebec, Prohibitory, Fiſhery, and Capture bills; which ſeveral bills produced the preſent civil war; and which civil war has certainly moſt fully and literally fulfilled

Mr. Wedderburne's prediction of the 9th of May, 1770, that "the American Colonies would, in the reign of George the *Third*, be *diſſevered* from the Britiſh empire."

Mr. Solicitor-General, it muſt be confeſſed, is a correct, methodical, plauſible ſpeaker. His matter is always judiciouſly ſelected, and well arranged. It has the *air* of logical juſtneſs and argumentative preciſion. He never rambles from his ſubject, from a want or redundancy of matter. His oratory is uſually chaſte, his pronunciation diſtinct, his emphaſis well placed, and his voice well managed. He is fond of detail, and conveys it to his auditors in a clear, unembarraſſed, comprehenſive manner. His language, though ſometimes ſtiff, and approaching to that of the law-pedant, is always nervous, technical and pointed; and he has one advantage over almoſt every man in either Houſe, which is, though his ſpeeches bear the appearance of uncommon induſtry and great art, yet he ſpeaks with ſo much fluency, avoiding the extremes of a rapid utterance, or of heſitation and abſence of mind, that every thing he offers ſeems to flow from

from a knowledge of the ſubject, well digeſted, and leading directly to the cleareſt principles of ſelf-conviction and ſelf-approbation. With all this high cultivation, the joint effect of a good deal of judgment and immenſe labour, the ſoil which he has thus ſo ſtudiouſly ſought to improve, is far from being naturally fertile. His talents are reſtrained within narrow bounds,—we mean, in point of native oratory. He never reaches the heart; nor makes a ſingle proſelyte to his opinions through that channel, like ſeveral other of his cotemporaries we could mention. His logic is ſtrongly tinctured with ſophiſm; and his arguments, like ſeveral others, not occupying reſponſible offices, thick-ſown with confident aſſertions, confident predictions, and confident promiſes, never meant to be fulfilled, but merely to anſwer the temporary purpoſes of debate.

To thoſe who know him, this ſketch of his parliamentary abilities will be perfectly intelligible; to ſuch as do not, it would take up more of our time than we think the ſubject deſerving of. Let it at the ſame time be perfectly underſtood, that there is no man in England,

land, in or out of parliament, better formed by nature, education, inclination, and habit, to lead at his pleaſure men of a certain ſize of underſtanding; men who reaſon ſuperficially, who have not talents to diſtinguiſh the ſubſtance from the ſhadow, who are caught by the trammels and outward garb of truth and reaſon, but have not ſtrength of intellect to diſcern eſſences: with *ſuch men*, his ſpeeches on the motion made againſt Lord Clive; on the Quebec, Prohibitory, and Capture bills; and on the propriety of ſending his Majeſty's Electoral troops to garriſon Minorca and Gibraltar, without the conſent of Parliament, or a neceſſity pretended or ſtated, will paſs as *proofs* of his powers as an orator, his depth and ſtrength of reaſoning as a logician, his abilities as an advocate, and his very extenſive knowledge as an accompliſhed ſenator.

MR. CHARLES FOX.

HAVING had the curioſity to inſpect this young gentleman's pariſh regiſter, we find, that he was born in the month of March, 1749; and, conſequently, that he united in his own perſon talents and circumſtances unparalleled in the annals of Parliament, or the ſtrange viciſſitudes of ſtate intrigue: for he was appointed a Lord of the Admiralty; reſigned in diſguſt; was a ſecond time appointed, and was afterwards removed to the Treaſury Board, whence he was diſmiſſed ſome few weeks before he completed the 25th year of his age, namely, on the 17th or 18th of February, 1774. Two other circumſtances ſtrongly mark his political career: before he was twenty-four years old, he was by much the moſt able ſupport the Miniſter had in the courſe of a whole ſeſſion, and within a year after, one of his moſt powerful and dangerous antagoniſts.

The

The political hiſtory of this extraordinary young orator furniſhes very few things worthy of notice. His conduct, as long as he remained in office, was that of the moſt violent and unreſerved courtier. He not only diſcharged his duty as a *mere* placeman, called upon by his ſituation to defend the meaſures of Adminiſtration, to cover their blunders, to urge their propriety, to predict the ſalutary conſequences that muſt flow from them, and the whole ſcience of *augmenting* and *diminiſhing* at pleaſure; but he caught the deciſive *tone* of a violent partiſan, in a kind of ſtate of war and open hoſtility againſt every man who dared to differ from him, or queſtion the miniſterial *infallibility* of his leader * and financial creator.

His parliamentary operations, in this line, were chiefly directed againſt Mr. Burke, and a few other leaders in oppoſition. This part of his taſk he performed with remarkable punctuality and alacrity, and with no ſmall degree of

* He was appointed a Commiſſioner of the Treaſury, through the intereſt of Lord North, in the room of Charles Jenkinſon.

of ſucceſs.—Some detached part of Mr. Burke's ſpeech, not perhaps at all eſſential to the main ſubject of debate, was *miſquoted* or *miſrepreſented*; the fallacy or abſurdity of its pretended contents was pointed out and animadverted upon; and the whole thrown into a ridiculous light; a laugh was created in every miniſterial corner of the Houſe; the Treaſury Bench was ſet in a roar, and Charles ſmacked the clerk's table with his hand, and moulded his feathered hat into ten thouſand different forms. Burke's fine ſpeeches were thus cut up; Charles was applauded; and every *tool* of Adminiſtration, from his Lordſhip down to Robinſon, Eden, and Brummel *at the door*, or in the gallery, loudly proclaimed victory.—This office is now occupied by his particular friend and *worthy* aſſociate. *

There were two other gentlemen on whom he beſtowed a great deal of attention in the ſame way. They at length perceived their folly, and the juſtice of his ridicule ſo much, that † one of them changed places with him,

* Mr. Thurloe, Attorney-General. † Mr. Cornewall.

and the * other accepted of a white wand, as a public teſtimony of his *converſion*.

In the midſt of victory, fluſhed with ſucceſs, and running at the rate of fourteen knots an hour, with every ſail ſet, and in the warmeſt expectation of at leaſt procuring at a ſhort day the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer, his friend and patron † having frequently *aſſured* him, in confidence, that he wiſhed to divide the fame, profits, and labour of conducting public affairs with him; our hero, like a certain well-known ambitious young man of Ovidian memory, was thrown from the box, as *he* ſays, by the baſeneſs and treachery of the firſt coachman.

To drop all allegory, terrene or marine, the following trifling matter was what produced the ſad cataſtrophe! The Speaker, a few days before, having put the queſtion on a petition againſt an incloſing bill, a letter, ſaid to have been written by the celebrated Parſon Horne, appeared three or four days after in a morning paper.

* Sir William Meredith. † Lord North.

paper. The letter was conceived in very coarſe terms, and betrayed an ignorance of both the uſages of the Houſe, of the truth of the tranſaction, and indeed of every rule of decency.—A complaint was accordingly made by a Member, * of the unjuſtifiable liberties that had been taken with Sir Fletcher Norton, of the injuſtice of the charge, and the neceſſity there was for bringing the author or authors to the moſt exemplary puniſhment. The printer was ordered to attend: he complied with the order, and gave up his author, the Parſon. What happened on that occaſion is recent in every body's memory; it is now enough to obſerve, that the charge not being brought home to Mr. Horne, the diſpleaſure of the Houſe fell on the printer.

Mr. Fox either miſunderſtanding the previous inſtructions given him that morning by the Miniſter, or the Miniſter forgetting them, or *chuſing* to forget them; the former inſiſted, that the printer ſhould be committed to Newgate, while the latter moved, that he ſhould be committed to the Gatehouſe. At length the queſtion

* Mr. Herbert, Member for Wilton.

queſtion on Col. Herbert's original motion being put, for "committing the printer to the cuſtody of the Serjeant at Arms;" it was carried by a great majority.

This unexpected deſertion of the Miniſter and his faithful coadjutor bore, it is true, a very aukward appearance. Charles and his patron recriminated on each other: Charles ſaid he would have carried his concerted motion, if the Miniſter had not deſerted and *betrayed* him; the latter as ſtrenuouſly inſiſted, that he muſt have prevailed, if the other had not diſtracted and divided the friends of Adminiſtration. Be that as it may, it was neceſſary that the blame ſhould be laid *ſomewhere*, in order to mitigate the diſpleaſure of the Junto; it was all therefore laid on our hero's ſhoulders, in the following conciſe but comprehenſive manner:—The next day but one, Charles and his noble patron were ſitting on the Treaſury Bench: after chatting of indifferent matters, particularly of the buſineſs of the day coming on, and what paſſed the preceding day at the Treaſury Board, which intervened

tervened between the night the difference of opinion aroſe and the tranſaction here related, Pearſon, * or his ſubſtitute, threw a ſign, which Charles underſtanding, went to the door, where he received a billet, couched in the following laconic terms:—"His Majeſty "has thought proper to order a new Com- "miſſion of the Treaſury to be made out, "in which I do not perceive your name.

NORTH."

From that very hour to the preſent he has been as violent in oppoſition, as he was before for the Court. Luckily however for him, in point of conſiſtency, during the buſy ſcene he acted in, and the very conſpicuous part he took, the affairs of America never came under formal or ſolemn diſcuſſion. In about a fortnight or three weeks after he commenced patriot, Colonel Jennings, as has been before obſerved, as it were compelled the Miniſter to take the ſtate of that country into conſideration; the firſt decided part Charles took therefore in that buſineſs, was againſt Adminiſtration. The ground he has taken is pretty nearly

* The Door-keeper of the Houſe of Commons.

nearly the ſame as Lord Camden's in the other Houſe; with this additional circumſtance, that beſides arraigning the injuſtice, cruelty, impolicy, and impracticability of ſucceeding in an attempt to ſubdue America, or compel its inhabitants to conſent to the terms of unconditional ſubmiſſion, he has from time to time alternately foretold and demonſtrated the inefficacy, folly, and madneſs of the ſeveral meaſures, as they were propoſed in Parliament, and the ignorance, temerity, and dangerous deſigns of their authors, ſupporters, and defenders.—Beſides this general diſapprobation of the conduct of thoſe to whom the direction of public affairs has been entruſted, he has very frequently exerciſed his wit and his ſpeen on the Miniſter; ſometimes charging him with indolence and inability; at others with incapacity, duplicity, and the moſt ill-founded affectation of candour and independency: again with being the real author of the preſent civil war in America, by refuſing to repeal the whole of the Port duties; or laſtly ſuppoſing (which was what he ſaid his Lordſhip ſometimes affects to inſinuate, and wiſhes his friends to inſinuate for him) that he

diſapproves

diſapproves of the meaſures he ſupports himſelf in Parliament, his conduct is ſtill the more reprehenſible, becauſe in one event he can be ſuppoſed to act wrong through prejudice or incapacity *only*, whereas in the other he muſt be *guilty* from a premeditated perverſion of his underſtanding.

Mr. Fox is certainly one of the firſt native orators in the Houſe, but he is extremely negligent. His diſcourſes are frequently finiſhed pieces of argumentation, abounding in the beſt pointed obſervations, and the juſteſt concluſions; and ſupported by a weight of reaſoning, a manly boldneſs and energy of expreſſion, almoſt unequalled; and never, within the courſe of our knowledge or experience, ſurpaſſed. His extemporary ſpeeches on facts, arguments, and details, not immediately ariſing nor connected with the proper ſubject of debate, at leaſt not foreſeen, are truly admirable. They bear every appearance of the moſt ſtudied and laboured harangues, in every thing but the delivery, which, however rapid, is not able to keep pace with the crouded conceptions of the ſpeaker. His ideas are inexhauſtible,

hauſtible, and are ever ready at his command; but even if this were all, we could account for it eaſily; but we muſt liſten in ſilent aſtoniſhment, when we obſerve him riſe upon ſome ſudden unexpected incident, and diſcuſs perhaps a deep intricate ſubject for an hour, with an ability, perſpicuity, and preciſion, that would induce ſuch as are unacquainted with his habits, or are ignorant of his talents, to be perſuaded that he came to the Houſe previouſly prepared and informed, in order to deliver his opinion. With theſe almoſt unrivalled gifts which Nature has beſtowed, Mr. Fox is far from being a pleaſing or perſuaſive orator. His utterance is rapid, diſagreeable, and ſometimes ſcarcely intelligible. He ſpeaks always as if he was in a paſſion, and the arguments of paſſionate people do not come well recommended. He ſometimes deſcends to perſonal attacks, to anecdotes and puerilities, much beneath the dignity of a Britiſh Senator, particularly a man of his conſummate talents. Another circumſtance, which takes away from the weight and conſequence of what he urges in debate, is, that his patriotiſm is *preſumed* to

have

have originated in pique, and to have taken a taint of perſonal rancour and perſonal perſecution towards the noble Lord at the head of the Treaſury, on account of what he deemed a mixture of treachery and mean revenge, in procuring his diſmiſſion from the Treaſury Board.—On the whole, with all Mr. Fox's ſuperior advantages, we do not eſteem him as rendering his party any very eſſential ſervice, though we muſt allow he would be a valuable acquiſition to his old friends, who would probably receive him like the prodigal ſon, were it not for the powerful obſtacle which ſtands in the way, the irreconcilable *perſonal* difference which ſubſiſts between him and the Miniſter.

LORD SUFFOLK.

HIS Lordſhip was little known in the political world till he went into oppoſition, under the guidance and patronage of the late Mr. George Grenville. In the year 1770, in particular, he was one of the moſt violent partiſans againſt the meaſure of expulſion and incapacitation of Mr. Wilkes, in relation to the affair of the Middleſex election. Some of the ſevereſt ſpeeches made againſt the *Court ſyſtem*, then carrying, or ſuppoſed to have been carrying on, were made by his Lordſhip on the following ſeveral motions: For the account of the expenditure of the Civil Liſt—"That the Houſe of Commons is bound in matters of election by the law of the land"—On American affairs—Lord Chatham's bill for reverſing the adjudication againſt John Wilkes, Eſq; on the Middleſex election—On Lord Chatham's motion, relative to his Majeſty's anſwer to the City Remonſtrance—and, finally, the ſame noble Lord's motion for an Addreſs to his Majeſty,

jeſty, praying that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to *diſſolve* the Parliament.

On ſome of thoſe queſtions his Lordſhip rendered himſelf *remarkably* conſpicuous; and was one of the forty-one proteſting Lords, who pledged themſelves to each other, and to the public at large, on the motion of the 2d of February, in the following words: "We do hereby ſolemnly declare and pledge ourſelves to the public, that we will *perſevere* in availing ourſelves, as far as in us lies, of every right and every power, with which the conſtitution has armed us, for the good of the whole, in order to obtain full relief for the injured electors of Great-Britain, and full ſecurity for the future againſt this moſt dangerous uſurpation upon the rights of the people, which, by *ſapping* the fundamental principles of this Government, *threatens* its *total* diſſolution."

In the following November Mr. Grenville died; and on the 22d of the ſucceeding January, about two months after the deceaſe of his political Chiron, (though, it is ſaid, the bargain

bargain was ſtruck up before he was cold) his Lordſhip was appointed Keeper of the Privy Seal, in the room of the Earl of Hallifax, appointed one of the Secretaries of State. The June following the Earl of Hallifax dying, he ſucceeded him in the office of Secretary of State for the Northern department; which high poſt he ſtill occupies, much to his own credit, honour, and emolument; and to the full ſatisfaction of an indulgent Prince and an *admiring* public!

There are ſome characters that inſpire the biographer with horror, others with veneration and reſpect; others again with aſtoniſhment; and not a few with a certain gaiety of heart, pleaſantry, and good humour, eaſier to be *imagined* than deſcribed. We would not give his Lordſhip the option, becauſe we are compelled to be merry, gay, and ſprightly, whenever we *recollect* that he occupies a *reſponſible* cabinet appointment, in which the moſt *extenſive talents*, and the beſt-informed underſtanding, are *required*.

As

As his Lordſhip, while he remained in oppoſition, declared the utmoſt contempt and abhorrence for the laſt Parliament, and ſupported, with all his abilities, a motion for its *diſſolution*; an opportunity at length arrived, which furniſhed the means of gratifying himſelf more effectually than ſhewing his reſentment againſt it in mere words. He avowed openly in Parliament, on Lord Chatham's motion in January 1775, for withdrawing the troops from Boſton, that he was the *principal* adviſer of the Parliament's immature diſſolution. It is true, his *modeſty* was ſo great, that he did not claim the merit of this act of political *juſtice*, as urged to it on *principle*; but barely informed the Houſe, that he adviſed the meaſure ſolely to prevent the bad effects which a *popular* election might produce, on the natural demiſe of the former Parliament, were it permitted to live ſix months longer.

His Lordſhip's official career is not marked with many ſhining proofs of the able ſtateſman: the only treaties of his making, which have yet reached the light, are thoſe entered into with his Majeſty, as Elector of Hanover, and with the

the Landgrave of Heſſe, Duke of Brunſwick, and the Princes of Hanau and Waldeck, for bodies of troops to be employed in America againſt the Provincials there in arms. We do not wiſh to ſay a ſyllable concerning the juſtice or expediency of the American war; nor *much* as to the mere miniſterial manufacture of the treaties. The double ſubſidy might have originated in a ſpirit of *true* national œconomy. Each company being *double* officered might have ariſen from motives of military *foreſight*, on account of the great difficulty of recruiting *commiſſioned* officers. A double ſtaff, including an *executioner*, might likewiſe have been a prudent precaution. Paying for ſoldiers killed, paying afterwards for recruiting them, and letting the *dead* mens pay *augment* the military cheſt, might be a very proper proof to exhibit to every *carcaſe-butcher* in Germany, of the profound *wiſdom* and *extenſive* generoſity of an Engliſh Adminiſtration, and an Engliſh Parliament. We do not pretend to decide one way or the other on any of theſe knotty points, theſe ſtate arcana; and though we ſhould, we dare not condemn the conduct of the noble Lord, *becauſe* he might exculpate himſelf

himſelf by this compendious anſwer: "That he was *commanded*; and that all his *merit* or *demerit* in the courſe of the whole negotiation, till its final completion, conſiſted entirely in a punctual, paſſive obedience to the orders he received."—We ſhould be gladly contented with this apology, ſo far as the views of his Lordſhip's Royal Maſter and his employers were concerned, or where the approbation and emolument of the mercenaries were to be courted. But when none of thoſe objects were likely to be attained, but both parties to be diſpleaſed and diſguſted, we confeſs we cannot entirely approve of his Lordſhip's neglect and want of foreſight in one particular, namely, in not giving General Howe his rank *earlier*, which would have prevented us from being driven to the diſagreeable alternative of either permitting a foreigner to *command* our troops in America, or ſuperſeding the rank of the Heſſian Lieutenant-General, by putting a young Major-General over his head.—Theſe are the general leading features of his Lordſhip; and we freely confeſs, that we never *waded* with more *pain* through any *dull*, unintereſting detail in our life; nor could any other

other conſideration, but a faithful diſcharge of our engagements with the public, have compelled us to ſo *nauſeous* and diſguſting a taſk.

His Lordſhip's talents as a parliamentary ſpeaker are confeſſed on all hands to intitle him to the place we have here aſſigned him. He ſpeaks with great facility. His language is pointed and well choſen; and he gives his harangues a ſtrength of colouring, and infuſes into them a warmth and energy of expreſſion, ſcarcely excelled by any one Lord in the Houſe. He affects a bold explicit manner of declaring his ſentiments; and never fails to accompany it with an earneſtneſs and perſonal reſponſibility, bearing the ſtrongeſt appearance of ſelf-conviction. His voice and manner are rather pleaſing; and by blending a certain ſpecies of candour and boldneſs in every thing he ſays, and in general diſclaiming all perſonal alluſion, he is heard with pleaſure, and is ſure to meet with the approbation of, at leaſt thoſe who vote with him.—His Lordſhip's ſpeeches, on the other hand, ſeldom contain any ſolid matter. If he be well informed in his office, or in the great line of politics in which he is engaged,

gaged, he is certainly one of the beſt *ſecret-keepers* we know in Parliament. The ſtrength and power of his oratory conſiſts chiefly in round aſſertions, or flat contradictions to thoſe of his antagoniſts, and in exterior and inferior advantages, that are derived from nature, habit, and education, but which are totally independent and unconnected with that ſpecies of argument and fair deduction that leads to rational conviction.

LORD SHELBURNE.

THIS Nobleman's character, if drawn at full length, would abound with incidents as curious and extraordinary as any in the tedious muſter-roll, which contains the names of the preſent poſſeſſors and competitors for power; but as our profeſſed plan prevents us from puſhing our inquiries farther back than the diſgraceful treaty entered into by that once truly great man, the preſent *little* Earl of Chatham, in which he ſurrendered the *Majeſty* of the people of England, in return for a peerage and an irreſponſible office, an office however peculiarly well ſuited to a *Noſtrum-monger*, * we find ourſelves of courſe obliged to refer our readers to ſome of the Atalantis's of the day, for the hackney tales told of the Thane,† Tycho,‡ Volpone,‖ and Malagrida §.

To

* Lord Privy Seal—Patents for vending poiſonous medicines and noſtrums ſold at this ſhop.

† Lord Bute.

‡ Lord Chatham.

‖ The late Lord Holland.

§ Lord Shelburne.

To thoſe precious repoſitories, we chearfully direct the inquiſitive, unfledged politician, and proceed to the execution of our taſk.

We find Lord Shelburne in the Cabinet, as one of Lord Chatham's Secretaries of State, in the ſpring 1767, when the American Port duties were deviſed *elſewhere*, but publicly ſupported by a faithleſs Chancellor of the Exchequer, * contrary to the ſentiments of his colleagues in office. This is the prevailing opinion: he is not forthcoming to anſwer for himſelf; but as no man who knew him, entertains a ſingle doubt of his unbounded ambition, his verſatility and want of ſyſtem, charity obliges, and common ſenſe urges us to ſuppoſe, that the Duke of Grafton, and the Lords Chatham, Shelburne, and Camden, be their faults what they may in other reſpects, would hardly have conſented to a meaſure which would at once have emptied them of every pretenſion to public virtue or political value, if they had not been compelled by a power greater or *as great* as the King *himſelf*. Lord Shelburne,

 therefore,

* The late Charles Townſhend.

therefore, we may preſume, puſhed on by this *ſovereign* irreſiſtible *momentum*, gave way, the conſequence of which was, that we were preſented with that famous law for laying duties on tea, paper, painters colours, and glaſs.

The Adminiſtration we have juſt been ſpeaking of, the blackeſt and the moſt deſtructive this nation ever ſaw, was in its diſſolution no leſs extraordinary than in its formation. It was no ſooner embodied than its ruin was determined. The noble Lord * who was at the head of it, loſt his ſenſes, as well as his health and popularity. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, † who always hated, envied, and feared him, profited of the glorious opportunity: he ſowed, with the moſt wicked and able malignity, jealouſies and animoſities, that became impoſſible to cure or remove. He paid his court alternately in the Cloſet, and to the Houſe of Bedford; and when he had rendered every man in the Cabinet hateful to the Public, contemptible at the Council-table, and deſpicable in Parliament, he then rendered them

* Lord Chatham. † The late Charles Townſhend.

them hateful and deſpicable to each other. The laſt act of his life, more immediately relating to the noble Lord who is the ſubject of this day, will ſerve as a ſpecimen of the manner thoſe mere miniſterial phantoms, as they paſſed in ſucceſſion, were treated and diſmiſſed. In the ſummer of 1767, the views of France upon Corſica became too apparent to be longer permitted with indifference by an Engliſh Adminiſtration. Lord Shelburne, as Secretary of State for the Southern department, with the approbation of the other members of the Cabinet, gave inſtructions to our Miniſter at the French Court to remonſtrate againſt the meaſure of making a conqueſt of Corſica. Choiſeul, who knew the imbecillity of thoſe miniſterial ſhadows that then occupied the ſeveral reſponſible offices of the State, treated the remonſtrance with the contempt that was natural. The noble Lord * who made it could not endure this ſituation, and inſtantly, without leave or notice at either ſide of the water, returned to England. What was the conſequence? The French Ambaſſador here received the fulleſt aſſurances (and from an

* Lord Rochford.

an authority that could not be queſtioned) that Lord Shelburne acted entirely on his own head. The remonſtrance was diſclaimed by the other members of Adminiſtration; his Lordſhip was diſmiſſed, and the very perſon who remonſtrated appointed Secretary of State.

His Lordſhip from that inſtant commenced a violent partiſan againſt the meaſures of the Court, and on many occaſions has proved a very powerful adverſary. He joined the Miniſter in the meaſure of new modelling the Eaſt-India Company, and ſome other matters of leſs conſequence, which has given riſe to ſeveral reports of his again returning into office, *under* the preſent *Court ſyſtem.*

This, however, can hardly be credited, unleſs by thoſe who would wiſh to repreſent him as one of the moſt *weak,* as well as the moſt *unprincipled* men, that ever appeared upon the public ſtage.

His opinions delivered in Parliament relative to the unhappy diſputes which diſtract, divide,

divide, and indeed threaten the deſtruction, if not total diſſolution, of this once glorious and envied empire, materially correſpond, or rather ſeem to be *copied* from thoſe avowed by his patron and confidential friend; * and here we think it a part of our duty to give the fulleſt teſtimony in their favour, and at the ſame time to ſubmit a ſhort ſketch of them to our readers.—His Lordſhip has uniformly (at leaſt in his parliamentary ſpeeches on the ſubject) contended for the ſupreme dominion of this country over all its members and dependencies, as exerciſed through that true conſtitutional medium, the executive powers of the ſtate. On this ground he has maintained the prerogative of the Sovereign, reſpecting the excluſive unconditional right he has to the ordering and directing the military force of the nation, under the dernier controul of Parliament, and the inherent right of the Legiſlature to enact *certain* laws that ſhall be binding on all the members of the empire. This general outline will be more fully underſtood by the following explanation. His Lordſhip thinks that the Sovereign of Great-Britain may

* Lord Chatham.

may ſend or order his troops to America or Ireland, or withdraw them at pleaſure; and that he can no more part with this grand prerogative, notwithſtanding any promiſe, conceſſion, or engagement he may have made, or may hereafter make, than he can with his crown; and that the Parliament have a right to paſs laws for regulating the commerce of Ireland and America, with all the neceſſary conſequences of inforcing them by the eſtabliſhing Courts of Admiralty, and creating penalties for their due and juſt obſervance. On the other hand, he is equally clear, that the Parliament have *no* right to tax *unrepreſented* America; that it is a principle in *this* conſtitution, that *all* its native ſubjects are entitled to equal privileges, the moſt important and leading of which is the granting their own money; and that the injuſtice of robbing the coloniſts of this ſacred and invaluable franchiſe, can only be equalled by the folly, madneſs, and inexpediency of the attempt.

His Lordſhip, though a man of ſtrong ſpeculative abilities, was put into offices of great truſt much *too early*. His youth and inexperience

rience were not to be balanced by the mere raw efforts of a natural good underſtanding. A knowledge of *buſineſs*, and the *habits* that are acquired by an intimate acquaintance with it, are not to be compenſated by any degree of ſpeculative reſearch, however ably or diligently purſued; and we are not backward in declaring this very important truth, that one of the greateſt misfortunes of this preſent reign has been, that *boys* have been made Miniſters; and that *cloſet* arrangements have *ſuperſeded* the juſt pretenſions of long experience and official merit. This obſervation is by no means particularly pointed at the noble Lord, nor, if it were, would it be at preſent properly applied.

His Lordſhip's talents as a parliamentary ſpeaker are well known. He abounds in information well worthy the attention of his noble auditory, and of the very Miniſters whoſe meaſures he oppoſes. His ſpeeches bear the appearance of having been ſtudied and arranged, previous to their delivery: they are judiciouſly conceived, ſententious and correct; and never fail of impreſſing his ſentiments in the moſt pointed and perſpicuous

manner. His general acquaintance with books, with the political hiſtory of Europe, the general intereſts of commerce, and particularly thoſe of the Britiſh empire, are evident proofs of his induſtry and ſound judgment. In fine, he is one of the moſt uſeful ſpeakers in the Houſe of Lords, on the part of Oppoſition; his abſence or defection therefore would, at this important criſis, be moſt ſeverely felt. On the other hand, his Lordſhip's harangues, though delivered with facility, have too much the appearance of art and ſtudy; while his conſtant appeals to the candour and indulgence of his hearers are evidently merely traps for applauſe, and by their frequent repetition become tireſome and diſguſting.

MR. WELLBORE ELLIS.

THIS gentleman is eſteemed one of the moſt ſteady, *uniform* courtiers in either Houſe of Parliament, as there has been ſcarcely an Adminiſtration for the laſt thirty years in this country, in which he has not borne a ſhare, and chearfully parted with his colleagues the inſtant they *parted* with their power. The firſt conſpicuous part he took ſince the commencement of the period to which we have limited theſe inquiries, was in the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, and the vote of incapacitation which followed in the ſpring ſeſſion 1768. It was the great zeal he manifeſted on that occaſion which gave birth to the celebrated obſervation of that elegant writer, Junius, that "the *mine* was *ſunk*, combuſtibles provided, and Wellbore Ellis, the *Guy Faux* of the fable, *waited only* for the ſignal of command." There was a ſatyrical print publiſhed at the time, repreſenting this finely pointed alluſion to the conſpiracy known by the name of the Gunpowder Plot, in which Mr. Ellis was drawn with

with a *lantern*, ſetting fire to the *combuſtibles* prepared for blowing up the conſtitution; and Lord Bute in the back ground, with a truncheon in his hand, *giving* the word of *command*. His unwearied and indefatigable zeal in this buſineſs made him, if poſſible, more dear to thoſe who imagined they could not ſhew their eſteem for his Majeſty more clearly, than by avenging a perſonal inſult or reflection on his family, at the expence of *overthrowing* the laws in *that* inſtance, and *ſapping* the foundations of this once glorious, happy, and juſtly envied conſtitution.

As Mr. Ellis is reputed to be one of the *King's friends*, and preſumed likewiſe to be a favourite at Buckingham-houſe; and as the term King's friend, in the *ſenſe* here intended to be conveyed, though frequently mentioned, ſeems not to be ſo generally underſtood; and, finally, as the term will often recur in the following political ſketches, we think it is in ſome degree our duty, as far as in our power, to elucidate any obſolete, doubtful, or *technical* phraſe we may be neceſſarily obliged to uſe.

By

By *King's friends* we do not mean the mere *loyal tools*, who always vote *one* way, on an abſurd idea, that *ſupporting* Adminiſtration is an act of perſonal reſpect to the Sovereign; that Government and Adminiſtration mean the *ſame* thing; and that diſtruſting and oppoſing Miniſters, on *any* account, or almoſt in any event, is an act little ſhort of miſpriſion of treaſon. No, *ſuch* men, however *miſtaken*, act on *principle*; they may be charged with folly, with prejudice, with political blindneſs: the King's friends we would wiſh to convey an adequate and faithful deſcription of, lay *no* pretenſion to *public* confidence or *public* virtue, no perſonal attachment to the Sovereign, no regard to the conſtitution. They are ſelected from men who, having no predilection for any thing under heaven but their own intereſt, are willing to *do* or *undertake* every thing they are deſired. Veterans in office and in Parliament; their abilities are known; their pliability has been frequently tried; and as there is no party with whom they have not acted, nor ſyſtem of Adminiſtration they have not embraced, ſo there is no meaſure, howſoever contradictory to their former declared ſentiments and opini-

ons,

ons, they are *aſhamed* to varniſh over, nor ſet of men they have not betrayed and abandoned. * They are, ſays an able writer, diſtributed with *art* and judgment through the ſeveral departments of the ſtate, or in ſinecure places: they ſeldom aim at the high and reſponſible offices of the kingdom, but occupy places which are only an *excuſe* for ſalary; yet they poſſeſs all the influence of the higheſt poſts, and dictate in almoſt every thing with a pride of ſuperiority. Whenever they diſſent (which is ſometimes the caſe) from their *nominal* leaders, the *trained* part of the Senate, inſtinctively in the *ſecret*, is ſure to *follow* them, provided the oſtenſible Miniſter and his friends, ſenſible of their *ſituation*, do not themſelves *recede in time* from their moſt *declared* opinions.

It is hardly conceivable to any one who has not ſeen it, what pleaſure is taken by the authors

* The leaders are ſaid to be the *creatures* of the K—, trained, diſciplined, and inſtructed by the Lords B—e and M———d; the names of the leaders are likewiſe ſuppoſed to be Lords Clare and Barrington, and Meſſrs. Ellis, Jenkinſon, Stanley, and Sir Gilbert Elliot, *cum multis aliis*.

thors and managers of the *Court ſyſtem* behind the curtain, in rendering thoſe † heads of office thoroughly contemptible and ridiculous. The places occupied by this reſpectable corps are removed from the elevated and ſlippery heights of labour, talents, and reſponſibility; they are ſituated in peace and ſecurity, and are, in effect, held for life.

Whether Mr. Ellis anſwers this deſcription or not, we do not pretend to determine; if he or his friends aſpire to the honourable appellation, they muſt take it with *all* its conſequences; if they ſhould not, it would ill become us to confer honours, till we are previouſly aſſured that they would not be rejected with diſdain.

The next *conſpicuous* appearance Mr. Ellis made after the affair of the Middleſex election, was in his ſtrenuous endeavours to defeat Mr. Grenville's

† This frequently happened during the laſt adminiſtration of Lord Chatham, and that which ſucceeded it, under the pretended direction of the Duke of Grafton. Even our preſent worthy Premier has felt ſome raps over the knuckles, and but for certain ſtate reaſons, would feel them oftener.

Grenville's bill "for regulating the trials of controverted elections for Members to ſerve in Parliament." After oppoſing it vehemently in all the precedent ſtages, he moved on the order to take the report into conſideration, that the bill might be put off for *two months*; which motion of poſtponing to a long day is looked upon equal to an abſolute negative. On a diviſion, however, the King's friends, for the firſt time ſince their being *embodied* into a regular ſtanding corps, found themſelves in a minority; the numbers being 187 to 125, on the queſtion's being put, whether the bill ſhould be engroſſed.

This gentleman was very active in the ſame ſeſſion (1770) in endeavouring to ſtifle all inquiry or examination of the *then* ſtate of America: in that and his oppoſition to the bill brought in by Mr. Herbert for regulating expulſions, he was more ſucceſsful than in his attempt to defeat Mr. Grenville's bill. Any defeat in this line was thought ſomewhat extraordinary; the late Lord Holland and he being looked upon as the two leading election-managers in the Houſe of Commons. A ſtriking

ſtriking alluſion to this part of the gentleman's ſenatorial character was made by a well-known facetious Counſel, on the trying the merits of a Welſh election lately before a Select Committee of the Houſe of Commons. The laſt deciſion was much relied on; the Journals of the Houſe were appealed to; and the numbers being nearly equal (147 to 143)—Look, ſays the learned wag, with great compoſure, at the *tellers*.—What of that? anſwered his antagoniſt. Ah! my friend, it ſeems you do not know much of *election* matters; do not you ſee *George Grenville* at one ſide, and *Wellbore Ellis* on the other? Only *look again*, and obſerve which of their opinions was favourable to *my* client; and when you do, I dare ſay you will not truſt much to your boaſted deciſion, unleſs you mean to *miſlead* the preſent Committee, as the latter honourable gentleman was known for ſo many years to have miſled the Houſe.

That favourite meaſure of the *Court Syſtem*, the Royal marriage bill, was particularly patronized by him. He was called to the chair of

of the Committee by ſpecial appointment; and filled his *office* like a *faithful* ſervant, ſitting up all night during the commitment of the bill, and *ſcarcely* taking any repoſe, but conſtantly attending the private *deliberations* at Buckingham-houſe each ſucceſſive morning, till he returned the bill at the bar of the Houſe of Lords with concurrence of the Commons.

His conduct reſpecting American affairs, ſince the breaking out of the preſent troubles, has been uniform, deciſive, and ſteady. He has always declared himſelf for the ſupremacy of Parliament, and for receiving *no* conceſſion ſhort of unconditional ſubmiſſion. He ſpoke very warmly againſt the Miniſter's conciliatory propoſition of the 20th of February, 1775; and in the courſe of laſt ſeſſion frequently *hinted* at the *ſupineneſs* of Adminiſtration, their *indeciſive* conduct, their *miſtaken* lenity; and attributed, in a great meaſure, all the miſcarriages that had hitherto happened to a *want* of firmneſs, alacrity, and information. To *ſoften* this *direct* charge againſt the *puppets* in ſeeming power, he attributed our diſappointments

ments more to wrong information than any thing elſe, and congratulated the Houſe on the *converſion* of Adminiſtration. In fine, he predicted two things: that our arms would in the end prove victorious, perhaps without much bloodſhed; but whether or not, they would prove victorious: the inevitable conſequence of which would be, the obtaining a revenue towards eaſing the heavy burdens borne by the people of this country.

Mr. Ellis, as a parliamentary ſpeaker, is certainly very able. He is well acquainted with men and books, practice and ſpeculation. Long trained to buſineſs, and the various details of almoſt every official board, he ſpeaks on every ſubject connected with them with perſpicuity, confidence, and preciſion. Few perſons, if any in the Houſe, either in or out of Adminiſtration, can venture to contend with him in this line with any proſpect of ſucceſs. To a ſound, native underſtanding, he has united a cloſe and judicious attention to buſineſs; the reſult of which is, that he is one of the *beſt* informed men in the Houſe of Commons. His oratory is *not* ſhining or brilliant, but his

diſcourſes

diſcourſes are all regular, correct, and finiſhed. He delivers himſelf in the language of a gentleman and a ſcholar, and with an elegance and conciſeneſs equalled by few, and ſurpaſſed ſcarcely by any. He never fails to cloſe his ſpeeches by proving his arguments on the cleareſt principles of logical deduction, allowing his facts to be *true*. In fine, he is no leſs dextrous at *demoliſhing* the arguments of his opponents, than in raiſing and judiciouſly conſtructing his own.

On the other hand, when *hard preſſed*, he ſuits himſelf to his ſituation; and is as ingenious in evading, palliating, explaining away, and ſtraining precedents, as he is at other times perſuaſive, logical, and convincing. He then learns to magnify trifles, and trace ſimilitudes where there never exiſted a likeneſs. He can promiſe, becauſe he is not *reſponſible*; he can venture to predict, becauſe he does not *pretend* to inſpiration. He may *deny* or *aſſert*, when the proofs are *not* within reach. On the whole, though he is one of the ableſt ſpeakers Adminiſtration have to boaſt of, and much the ableſt ſupport they have in the moment of difficulty; yet

yet he has a certain finicalneſs in his voice and manner, which is no leſs fatal to his pretenſions to the rank of a firſt-rate energetic orator, than the *neceſſity* ariſing from his political *views*, *emoluments*, and *purſuits*, is often to his arguments, deductions, and abſtract definitions.

MR. DUNNING.

THIS eminent Lawyer, diſtinguiſhed Orator, and hitherto ſteady Patriot, made his firſt appearance on the public ſtage during the adminiſtration ſuppoſed to have been formed, and for ſome months to have been conducted by the Earl of Chatham. He was appointed Solicitor-General ſoon after his Lordſhip's acceſſion into power; and, as long as he remained in office, diſcharged the duties of it with equal integrity and ability. His talents recommended him to the noble Lord laſt mentioned, when the firſt Prince in Europe would have been glad to be honoured with his Lordſhip's friendſhip; when the foreign and domeſtic foes of Britain trembled at the thunder of his voice; when the ſecret favourers of deſpotiſm lay in concealment; and a Government unconnected with the Cabinet, a conſtitutional Parliament, or the People, had not been, as *yet*, publicly manifeſted, by a train of the moſt blundering, oppreſſive, and tyrannic meaſures.

The

The time at length arrived, when Mr. Dunning could no longer *endure* his ſituation. At the commencement of that celebrated ſeſſion (1770) which will be tranſmitted to future ages by the expreſſive and well-ſuited deſcription of the *Horned Cattle* ſeſſion, when the minds of all men were occupied reſpecting the petitions relative to the Middleſex election, and very important conſequences were expected to reſult from the ſtyle and manner thoſe petitions would be noticed in the King's Speech, that miniſterial performance very gravely recommended to Parliament, to provide the beſt means of preventing the infection, which might ariſe from the diſtemper then lately broke out among the horned cattle, from ſpreading. *Mortified* to the *quick* at ſuch a *ſolemn mockery* of every thing that was great and ſacred, as ſoon as a motion was made for introducing an amendment into the Addreſs, in anſwer to the King's Speech, he aroſe and apologized to the Houſe. He ſaid, that *nothing* but his ill ſtate of health would have prevented him from giving his opinion in detail upon the preſent critical ſtate of affairs; but more particularly on that part of the amendment

amendment propoſed by his honourable friend,* which propoſed to take into the moſt ſerious conſideration the proceedings in that Houſe, touching its late vote for incapacitating John Wilkes, Eſq. He ſaid he could not content himſelf with a *ſilent* vote, nor ſit down without aſſigning his two leading reaſons for voting for the amendment. One was, that a general uneaſineſs and diſcontent had gone forth among the people; the other, becauſe he thought the words of the amendment would be ſome mark to the public, that the national grievances *would*, as they *ought*, come under the conſideration of Parliament.

As a man of ſpirit, as well as principle, he immediately reſigned; but offered very generouſly to diſcharged the duties of his office, till another fit perſon ſhould be pitched upon to ſucceed him. In this ſituation, during the ſeveral great changes which happened in the courſe of nine or ten weeks, particularly the reſignation of the Duke of Grafton, and the appointment of Lord North in his room, he remained inflexible, though often in the interim preſſed

* Mr. Dowdeſwell.

preſſed to reſume his poſt. At length, all attempts to bring him back to his former ſituation proving fruitleſs, our preſent *worthy, conſcientious, diſintereſted* Attorney-General was appointed Solicitor in his place.

From that time to the preſent, Mr. Dunning has continued in oppoſition, and has been felt by Adminiſtration as a moſt *powerful, weighty*, and *galling* antagoniſt. To point out the particulars, would in fact be to give a hiſtory of almoſt every leading queſtion agitated in Parliament for the laſt ſix years. We cannot, however, paſs by that part of his parliamentary conduct in ſilence, which relates to America, without relinquiſhing the general motives which firſt induced us to commence and proſecute the preſent undertaking, that of *marking*, by the event of the unnatural civil war now raging in America, the comparative wiſdom, public virtue, and political value, not only of the *two* parties which at preſent divide this nation, but likewiſe the ſeveral leading *individuals* of which each is compoſed.

The firſt queſtion relative to America, which Mr. Dunning diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly in, was the celebrated Quebec bill. In the courſe of that ſtruggle between conſtitutional freedom and arbitrary power, though he had the whole phalanx of profeſſional * mercenaries, as well as the weight of the Treaſury Bench, and all their immediate aſſociates and dependents, to *contend* with, he proved two poſitions, too evident to be evaded, and too clear to admit of a minute's ſerious controverſy or impartial diſcuſſion. He *proved* that the conſtitution intended to be given to the people of Canada by the bill was eſſentially the *ſame* in *form*, and *more* liable to *abuſe*, than the one they enjoyed under the Crown of France; and that the eccleſiaſtical *eſtabliſhment* granted to them under the idea of a mere *liberty* of *conſcience*, or a *permiſſion* for the free exerciſe of their religion, was *intended* to *cheat* them out of their *civil liberty*, as Britiſh ſubjects. It was intended, he ſaid, to operate two ways; firſt,

* Thurloe, Wedderburne, Sir George Hay, and a ſwarm of partial witneſſes.

firſt, for the purpoſe of eſtabliſhing *arbitrary power* in that *vaſt* extent of country, compriſed within the limits deſcribed in the bill; and, ſecondly, to *employ that power*, thus *modified* and rendered *obedient* to the *will* of the *poſſeſſor*, in the overthrow of the liberties of America.

He has ever ſince ſtrictly *adhered* to the ſame line of conduct. He does not barely confine himſelf in detecting the blunders of Adminiſtration; his oppoſition has been general; and if truth, and the moſt able and intimate knowledge of the laws and conſtitution of his country, were to decide uniformly in St. Stephen's Chapel, we may venture to affirm, without any imputation of partiality, that he would frequently prove victorious, and vote in a majority. He exhibited frequent proofs in the courſe of the laſt ſeſſion, and indeed in the two preceding, of his early fathoming the intentions of Adminiſtration. He predicted the conſequences of the propoſed Parliamentary Addreſs to his Majeſty in January 1775, declaring and offering to ſupport

his Majeſty with their lives and fortunes. He was no leſs ſagacious and penetrating in the Court doctrines meant to be *eſtabliſhed*, and drawn hereafter into *precedent*, relative to the introduction of foreign troops into any part of the dominions of the Britiſh Crown, without the previous conſent of Parliament. The apparent tendency of the Militia bill ſoon attracted his notice; and he deſcried in the earlieſt ſtages of the Capture act (long before the new * Secretary's entrance into power had totally altered the parliamentary language of the oſtenſible † Miniſter) the *determined reſolution* of its *ſecret* deviſers and profeſſed conductors to *force* America into open rebellion, to gratify *ſomebody*, and *verify* their own repeated *predictions*; as it muſt follow, that the Coloniſts, finding themſelves reduced to the alternative of ſubmitting like *ſlaves*, or being doomed to inevitable deſtruction, would declare themſelves independent, as the firſt ſtep to the procuring of foreign aſſiſtance.

This will, we preſume, convey ſome tolerable idea of the political opinions and public conduct

* Lord George Germain. † Lord North.

conduct of Mr. Dunning during the laſt ſix years; and will likewiſe ſerve to ſhew, hereafter, whether he *be*, or *be not*, as good a ſpeculative ſtateſman, as he has been long known to be a great lawyer and able orator. We would wiſh not to conſider him particularly under the latter deſcription, becauſe we are conſcious of our own inability to do him juſtice, and at the ſame time to meet the approbation of either his friends or adverſaries. Were we aſked, Is Mansfield more acute, diſcerning, or pointed? is Camden more penetrating, logical, or ingenious? is Burke more flowing, comprehenſive, well informed, or ſarcaſtically witty?——we ſhould certainly anſwer, *not*. Is Thurloe as ſound a lawyer, or Wedderburne as able an advocate?———we ſhould ſtill reply in the negative. But, again, if we were aſked, Is Mr. Dunning, in his *preſent ſtate of health*, as good an orator as any of thoſe?—truth would compel us to ſay, he is not. His diſcourſes, it is true, might cut as reſpectable a figure in print: but his unmarked emphaſis at the beſt of times; his nice diſtinctions, diviſions, and ſubdiviſions; his frittering his ſubject inſtead of ſerving it up in whole pieces;

his

his repetitions of the ſubſtance, though not the words; the failure of his voice; and, *ſorry* we are to add, the conſtant effort which nature makes to relieve him, by a cough, all combine to throw him at a conſiderable diſtance behind.

LORD SANDWICH.

THIS nobleman, after having undergone his purgation for the offences ſuppoſed to have been committed againſt a certain unpopular favourite,* recommended himſelf by his *imputed* ſufferings from the Rockingham party, as well as his domeſtic diſtreſſes, to the commiſeration of a relenting and forgiving Junto. † They knew his value; they recollected his provocations; they foreſaw the *uſes* to which he might be ſucceſsfully employed; they were well aware, that if they went to market, the purchaſe would be all their own, without any condition or limitation whatever. The Junto wanted an able and *willing* ſervant for their Royal director; and his Lordſhip wanted a gracious and generous maſter. In ſuch a concurrence of good-will and inclination on both ſides, what might not be reaſonably expected? The firſt favourable opportunity therefore which

* Lord Bute.

† The letters ſigned Anti-Sejanus were ſuppoſed to have been written under his Lordſhip's direction.

which happened after the admiſſion of the Bedford party into power in 1767, Lord Sandwich was appointed Poſtmaſter-General. Here he remained like his predeceſſor * in a kind of miniſterial probation, till a vacancy in the Cabinet ſhould happen; and there he might have remained ever ſince, if the ſcruples and fears of a certain noble Viſcount † had not given his Lordſhip's friends an opportunity of calling him into Cabinet. On his laſt-mentioned noble friend's reſignation of the ſeals, towards the cloſe of the year 1770, he was appointed Secretary of State for the Northern department, in the room of Lord Rochford, who ſucceeded Lord Weymouth in the Southern. He did not remain long in this ſituation; for an honeſt tar, ‡ who then preſided at the Admiralty Board, finding himſelf rendered a cypher through the overbearing mandates of a Junto, and the treachery of his brethren in the *mock* or *oſtenſible* Cabinet, on one hand; and perceiving, on the other, that he had been groſsly deceived and impoſed on by his Surveyor,

* Lord Hillſborough.

† Lord Weymouth.

‡ Sir Edward, now Lord Hawke.

or, * reſigned in a fit of chagrin and diſguſt, which made way for our hero, who was appointed Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty, very early in the ſpring 1771.

The conduct and language held in both Houſes of Parliament on this occaſion was to the laſt degree curious and entertaining: it proved beyond queſtion what Miniſters were *capable* of *ſaying*; what the King's friends were *capable* of *enacting*; what the *High Prieſt* and his immediate aſſociates and aſſiſtants were capable of commanding; and what the *ſpiritleſs*, *deluded*, *degenerate* people of this country were capable of enduring, without even a groan.

The diſpute with the Court of Spain, relative to Falkland's Iſland, having compelled us to arm, and it being found expedient in the firſt inſtance to ſend out two ſquadrons, one to the Mediterranean, in order to cover Gibraltar and Minorca, and the other to the Weſt-Indies, for the protection of our ſugar iſlands and commerce in that quarter of the globe,

* Sir Thomas Slade, Surveyor of the Navy.

it was found that our navy was in the moſt ruinous and alarming condition; that ſeveral of the ſhips were rotten and totally unfit for ſervice; that few of them were fit for ſea at a ſhort notice; and that there was a total deficiency of almoſt every kind of ſtore or material, either for fitting out, repairing, or rebuilding. Whether this evil was diſcovered in its full extent, at the commencement of thoſe naval preparations, we do not pretend to affirm; certain it is, however, that on the celebrated 10th of December, 1770, the day the breach aroſe between the two Houſes relative to a noble Lord's * moving to have the Houſe cleared while a noble Duke † was making a motion, ſhewing the defenceleſs ſtate of the fortreſs of Gibraltar, it came out that our navy was in a very uſeleſs and ruinous condition, which gave an opportunity to the noble Lord who is the ſubject of theſe obſervations to confeſs it; and he even uſed it as an argument at that time to prove how very unequal we were to go to war, unleſs actually compelled to it; and defended the convention afterwards

* Lord Gower. † Duke of Richmond.

terwards entered into with the Court of Spain on the ſame ground. The King's friends were obliged to conduct themſelves totally on a different plan. The Commons were called on to grant an additional ſhilling on their lands. Sir Edward Hawke was to be diſmiſſed. It would not be *decent* to diſmiſs him, while he continued to be defended by Adminiſtration in *both* Houſes; nor would it bear a very handſome appearance to call upon the people to grant half a million of money to repair thoſe injuries which the navy had ſuffered by the miſmanagement and neglect of Adminiſtration, without at the ſame time propoſing a public inquiry to lay a foundation for cenſure or puniſhment, in proportion to the magnitude or nature of the offence. In ſuch a dilemma how did the Junto act? By their ſubſtitutes in both Houſes. In the Houſe of Lords, Lord Sandwich, and ſome other leading Members in Adminiſtration, *confeſſed* the charge in its fulleſt extent; it anſwered them in argument; and perhaps our hero, to ſome *other* purpoſes. In the Houſe of Commons the Members were to be *ſoothed*, appearances were at leaſt to be kept up: the King's friends therefore ſcouted any idea which

contradicted

contradicted thoſe who affirmed that the Britiſh navy was in the moſt reſpectable and formidable condition. They *prevailed* upon the Firſt Commiſſioner himſelf to riſe and bear teſtimony to the *truth* of their aſſertions. What was the conſequence of all this juggle, cabal, miniſterial art, and parliamentary contradiction? Sir Edward Hawke, who had *anſwered* the *laſt* purpoſe the Junto wiſhed to effect through his means, that of *aſſuring* the Houſe of Commons of the *proſperous* ſtate of the Britiſh navy, was diſmiſſed during the Chriſtmas receſs. This made way for our noble Lord, as we take the liberty, for diſtinction ſake, to call him. His Lordſhip was appointed Firſt Commiſſioner of the Admiralty on the 12th of January, 1771; and the Surveyor, by whom it was then confidently reported Sir Edward was miſled, *died ſuddenly* a few days after Cha. Yorke, and ſome ſaid of the *ſame* diſorder, the *rupture* of a blood-veſſel.

As we would wiſh to clear the ground as we proceed, and not report naked occurrences without

out pointing to the cauſes, when thoſe cauſes become *obvious*, we beg leave to remind our readers, that *our* Lord had done away all his former tranſgreſſions, and *knit* himſelf cloſer to the Junto than ever, by the very *diſtinguiſhed* part he took in the Houſe of Lords, during the ſpring ſeſſion 1770, in relation to the Middleſex election, particularly by that *celebrated* ſpeech made in his *cloſet*, printed, and diſſeminated by *previous* agreement, and *ſaid* to be ſpoken on the 2d of February, on Lord Rockingham's motion, "that the Houſe of Commons, in the exerciſe of its judicature in matters of election, is bound to judge according to the law of the land, and the known and eſtabliſhed law and cuſtom of Parliament, which is part thereof." He was then at the Poſt-office, in a ſtate ſomewhat reſembling a deſerving naval veteran of rank and meritorious ſervice appointed Governor of Greenwich, happy in retirement, yet ready to come forward when an opportunity of ſerving his country in a more elevated and efficient ſituation ſhould call him forth.

From

From his taking his ſeat at the Board, at which he at preſent preſides, till the commencement of the preſent troubles in America, we know very little of his Lordſhip, in either his official, cabinet, or parliamentary capacity, worth recording, more than what might be included within this *compendious* deſcription, that he *ſupported* Adminiſtration; that is, in plain Engliſh, he did not commit an act of political ſuicide on his own precious perſon. It is true, the Houſe of Commons were divided into two parties, reſpecting his conduct and abilities. His adverſaries contended, that there was never known in this country ſo high or burthenſome a naval peace eſtabliſhment, by 4000 men, ſupported at an expence of 200,000l. *per annum*; that half a million, and other great and extraordinary grants, had been made on his Lordſhip's entrance into office; that beſides theſe naval grants made at that time, the articles of extraordinaries, wear and tear, repairs, buildings and rebuildings, exceeded any thing ever known within the ſame period; that, added to this, a heavy navy debt was ſtill incurring; that the navy, with all this monſtrous and unprecedented expence, was far from being in the

reſpectable

reſpectable condition it was repreſented; and at all events, if what his Lordſhip's blazoners and defenders ſaid was ſtrictly juſt, then the Houſe of Commons was deceived by Adminiſtration: for how was it poſſible, if what Miniſters aſſerted reſpecting the flouriſhing ſtate of the navy on the threatened rupture with Spain were true, that the nation ſhould be put to the annual extraordinary expence of at leaſt a million, in buildings, rebuildings, and purchaſe of timber and all kinds of ſtores? —His friends, particularly the Miniſter, (who nevertheleſs complained loudly of the expence) ſaid, that the navy, it is true, when his Lordſhip came into office, was in a ruinous ſtate; yet Miniſters had not miſled or miſinformed the Houſe, for the ſhips built of green timber in the height of the late war rotted imperceptibly, and were obliged to be broken up for other uſes, or ſold. That the noble Lord who now preſides at the Board, perceiving the neceſſity of putting our navy on a reſpectable footing, had laid in vaſt ſtocks of ſeaſoned timber not ſubject to decay, and a proportionable quantity of all kinds of naval ſtores; the conſequence of which would be, that late in 1774,

or

or early in 1775, we ſhould have in our different docks as guardſhips, and at ſea, above eighty men of war of the line fit for actual ſervice; and upwards of twenty of them manned and ready for ſea at a few hours notice. Which of thoſe accounts may be *nearer* the truth (for we have hardly a doubt that they are both exaggerated) we will not pretend to determine.

We will now proceed from narration and opinion to knowledge and fact; we mean ſo far as the ſame relates to the ſuppoſed juſtice and propriety of the American war, and his Lordſhip's conduct, as a *Miniſter*, a *Senator*, and an *official* man.

His Lordſhip has been all along one of the warmeſt advocates for the unmodified claim of ſupremacy of this country over America, on the alternative of *abſolute conqueſt*, as againſt an alien enemy on our ſide, and *unconditional* ſubmiſſion on theirs. His arguments are built entirely on the ſame foundation with thoſe of Lord Mansfield. The right of taxation, he contends, is in the Britiſh Legiſlature;

ture; and though we were willing to relax or concede, America is *not*; therefore we muſt aſſert that right, or *for ever* relinquiſh it. On the point of expediency, his Lordſhip is, if poſſible, more expreſs and explicit. He has engaged not only for the pacific and friendly diſpoſitions of the Courts of Verſailles and Madrid, as often as any fears for the event of their conduct have been ſuggeſted, but he has done more; he has engaged and pledged himſelf repeatedly to Parliament and the public, for the *cowardly* diſpoſitions of every Britiſh ſubject of American birth, from Hudſon's Bay to St. Auguſtine. He has compared them (we have heard his Lordſhip with our own ears) to the cowardly Aſiatics, defeated by a certain deceaſed noble Lord, * whom he diſtinguiſhed by the well-known appellation of the *Heaven-born* General; and added *emphatically*, in anſwer to ſomething urged by his opponents in debate, reſpecting their numbers, that the more *numerous* they were the *better*; it would give him pleaſure to hear that the rebels conſiſted of an *hundred* thouſand inſtead of *ten*; for in that event, as in Aſia, and wherever elſe a regular

* Lord Clive.

a regular diſciplined force were to contend with a mob, particularly a mob *compoſed* of *cowards*, *braggards*, and *poltroons*, ſucceſs would be more *certain*, and would be bought on *cheaper* and *eaſier* terms: *one* victory would anſwer every purpoſe of a *dozen*, and the flame of rebellion would be *ſooner* extinguiſhed, and with *leſs* trouble and bloodſhed.

In his Lordſhip's official character, we are ſorry to ſay he did not act with his *uſual* candour; and it is with ſome degree of reluctance that we find ourſelves compelled, by our profeſſed love of truth and impartiality, to differ from ſo high and reſpectable an authority on *any* point.

During the ſpring ſeſſion 1775, 4000 additional ſeamen being propoſed and agreed to in the Houſe of Commons, on a debate in the Houſe of Lords on Lord Chatam's Conciliatory bill, two points were much inſiſted on by the Members in oppoſition; one of them, that 22,000 ſeamen, including 5000 marines, would *not* be ſufficient for carrying on the intended naval operations in America; the other, that

that ſuppoſing they ſhould, we muſt inevitably leave our coaſt at home *defenceleſs*, and the *few* ſhips left to guard us *unmanned*.—To the latter of theſe objections his Lordſhip anſwered, that eighteen guardſhips would remain at home ready to proceed to ſea at a day's notice, which would be *ſuperior* to any fleet the combined force of France and Spain could ſend to ſea without our having a long previous knowledge of it; and he aſſured their Lordſhips (this was in debate) and the public, that a force ſhould be ſent to America that would anſwer *every end* of *annoying* our enemies, and of *protecting* our commerce.

This is a matter of fact; iſſue has been joined, and his Lordſhip has been *convicted* of promiſing more than he was able to perform. Our military ſtores of all kinds were *taken* for want of a ſufficient force being ſent to America, either to *protect* ourſelves or *annoy* our enemies.

But if we had no ſtronger inducement than barely to recall to our readers what every body knows, and what many have cauſe to lament,

we

we ſhould hardly have brought on this ſubject, ſeemingly in this unſeaſonable manner. But a motive of the firſt magnitude, of the moſt preſſing importance, has rendered it neceſſary in order to ſhew what Miniſters employed by a Junto *dare* do, and what P——s are too, that can *baſely* bend to ſuch a ſtate of *ſervility*. On the firſt day of the laſt ſeſſion, his Lordſhip being reminded of his engagements the preceding ſpring, replied, that it was very true, he *knew* that the number of ſeamen voted would *not* * be ſufficient; but he *knew* likewiſe, that if he aſked for a *greater* number,

* Lords Proteſt, 27th October, 1775, alludes to the above fact.—They ſay, "Nor can we impute the miſconduct of Miniſters to mere inability, or to their ignorance of the ſtate of America, upon which they attempt to juſtify themſelves; for while ſome members of Adminiſtration confeſs they were deceived as to the ſtrength and condition of the provinces, we have from others official information, that the inſufficiency of the navy was concealed from Parliament, and part of Adminiſtration, from a fear of not receiving ſupport from its members."—Signed Torrington, Fitzwilliam, Archer, Thanet, Cholmondeley, King, Portland, Stamford, Ponſonby, Abingdon, Manchester, Devonſhire, Chedworth, Boyle, Craven, Scarborough, Effingham, Rockingham, Richmond.

number, it would have been ſtrongly oppoſed, at leaſt, if not flatly refuſed.

His Lordſhip is undoubtedly a man of talents, and well acquainted with buſineſs; but whether he is equal to the very important poſt he now occupies, is more than we dare venture to decide on. He is certainly, from his *ignorance* of naval affairs, extremely liable to be impoſed on; and of courſe he may be led into error, in proportion, ſtrange as it may appear, to the *goodneſs* of his heart, and the ſoundneſs of his underſtanding. His Lordſhip's talents, in other reſpects, are confeſſed. He is certainly a great Stateſman. If report be not a liar, he convinced the late Lord Cheſterfield, that he could out-do him even in his own way; and ſhewed the Lords Bute and Holland, and the celebrated George Grenville, of plodding memory, that honeſty and quick parts were an overmatch for mere cunning and a knowledge of Cocker's Arithmetic. Be that as it may, Lord Sandwich is now a noun-ſubſtantative, or if there be a queſtion who ſupports

ports him, and has for ſome years? it can only be ſolved at Buckingham-houſe.

As a parliamentary ſpeaker, Lord Sandwich certainly ſtands very *low* on the liſt; and it is only on account of his political value in other reſpects, that we have brought him forward thus early. His diſcourſes are aukward, looſe, and detached. He generally ſtands with his hands in his pockets, or as if in the very act of driving a flock of geeſe, or forcing them into the end of a narrow lane. His ſpeeches are ſtories, or ſhort replies to what is offered on the other ſide, conſiſting chiefly of contradictions. In the midſt of his graveſt arguments, he lets fall ſome expreſſion which throws the Houſe in a roar, and ſeems little ſolicitous whether it be at the expence of himſelf, or his antagoniſts. On the whole, if Lord Sandwich were not a man of *buſineſs*, of *talents*, and *parliamentary knowledge*, the Houſe in which he ſits would never have been perſuaded to *endure* him as an *orator*.—It is only for

for uniformity ſake that we have touched upon this part of his Lordſhip's character, ſince we did not think it worthy of being treated more in detail.

THE DUKE OF RICHMOND.

TO bring his Grace forward as a public man, it will be neceſſary to make a trifling deviation from the rule we have hitherto adhered to and mean in future to follow, when not compelled to a breach of it, as on the preſent occaſion. The rule we here advert to is, not to puſh our political reſearches farther back than the month of Auguſt, 1766, when that great orator, able politician, and conſummate ſtateſman, Mr. Pitt, in a fit of *vanity* and *frenzy* mixed, or by an act of *cool premeditated treachery*, bartered himſelf, and every thing which ought to be held dear by Engliſhmen, for the Earldom of Chatham, and a fat irreſponſible office. As we have often alluded to this ſhameful barter in terms of reproach and lamentation; and as ſome perſons may think we have laid too great a ſtreſs on it, and ſay, that it could amount to no more than the political defection of *one* man, we beg leave, once for all, to add this ſhort explanation; that it is not the act we now have cauſe to lament,

lament, but its fatal effects. His Lordſhip is ſtill *alive*, and in oppoſition; ſo is much the greater part of the friends that went into Adminiſtration with him: but when we ſpeak of a *barter*, we mean to ſay, that for what the noble Lord received in the cloſet, he *virtually* ſurrendered that *influence* the people of this country have had ever ſince the Revolution, in chuſing *ſome* of thoſe *ſervants* of the *crown* and the *public*, which were wont to be *called* into office, and *ſupported* there, as much by the *confidence* of one, as the *favour* of the other: in fact, our Government was *once* a popular Government; we are now ſorry to ſay that it has every *appearance* of a mere ſyſtem of favouritiſm, originating in the views, paſſions, caprices, reſentments, and affections of *one* man.

To return from this digreſſion to what gave riſe to it: the Duke of Richmond having not been in office ſince the year 1766, we are obliged to ſeek and take up his political character in the month of July, 1765, on the miniſterial arrangement which took place under Lord Rockingham and the Old Whigs, ſup-

ported and patronized by the late Duke of Cumberland.

His Grace was appointed Ambaſſador to the Court of France, and acquitted himſelf extremely well; particularly relative to the demolition of the baſon at Dunkirk, which, however agreeable to the then Adminiſtration, and people at large, was far from being pleaſing to ſome who were in the ſecret elſewhere. Private intimations, *not* official ones, were given to the French Miniſter at this Court to that effect. Nothing material towards the punctual performance of the article in the treaty of peace has been ſince done, but furniſhing Adminiſtration with a pretext for providing for a *deſerving* Scotchman * at the trifling expence of thirty ſhillings a day—*not* to ſee the treaty fulfilled, or the jettees and ſluices demoliſhed, but wiſely to prevent the French King from raiſing or conſtructing new ones. This was rather a tender point; his Grace was therefore recalled; and in May, 1766, was appointed Secretary of State for the Southern department, in which poſt he remained

* Mr. Fraſer.

ed till ſucceeded by Lord Shelburne, who went in on the 2d of Auguſt the ſame year with the Earl of Chatham.

From that remarkable period, his Grace has continued uniformly in oppoſition; and that on the *broadeſt* foundation. He does not confine his diſapprobation to men *only*; nor yet to particular meaſures: but he grounds it on the cauſe, the motive, and the views which have brought in *ſuch* men, which have produced *ſuch* meaſures; a *ſecret* over-ruling, hidden influence, directed to the introduction of a nefarious *Court ſyſtem*; a ſyſtem of ſimple favouritiſm, by which every thing in Cabinet, Parliament, and elſewhere, is to be conducted and *tried* by the *teſt* of *private* judgment, in contra-diſtinction to and in defiance of *public* opinion.

To purſue his Grace through the wide circle of parliamentary oppoſition is not our intention; the main object of theſe inquiries being chiefly to connect the conduct of public men with the affairs of America, we ſhall conſider

his Grace's, for the greater part, in *that* point of view.

Lord Hillſborough, in the year 1768, wrote *two* official letters, which perhaps in a great meaſure, howſoever *well intended*, have ſown the *ſeeds* of the preſent unhappy civil war. One of them contained inſtructions to Governor Bernard to diſſolve the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's Bay; the other directing the ſeveral American Governors to aſſure the reſpective Aſſemblies in the provinces where they preſided, that *no* further taxes were meant to be laid on America; and that ſuch as were already laid on would be repealed on commercial principles: theſe letters being further accompanied by private *confidential* aſſurances from Adminiſtration, in ſome inſtances; and in others, as perſonally coming from the King; one of them indeed ſo *ſtrong*, that his Majeſty was *made* to ſay, "That he would rather *loſe* his "Crown, than *preſerve* it by *deceit*." * Thus the Americans were taught by one letter to perceive,

* Lord Bottetourt's ſpeech to the Aſſembly of Virginia, in explanation of the circulatory letter here adverted to.

perceive, that the future freedom of the deliberation of the Aſſembly of Maſſachuſett's-Bay, and conſequently of every other Aſſembly on the continent, *depended* on their reſolution to reſiſt a menace, which preſented the alternative of either *ſubmitting* to the mandate of a Britiſh Secretary of State, or to a temporary ſuſpenſion, tending to terminate in a *total* diſſolution of civil government. By means *ſuch* as theſe, the Colonies were taught by Adminiſtration to hold the Britiſh Parliament in contempt, when they found the King in one inſtance, and his Miniſters in the other, *pledging* themſelves for the eventual reſolutions of that degenerate and proſtitute aſſembly. Such endeavours ſuggeſted beſides, to thoſe who ſaw farther, that when it ſhould be found neceſſary to employ Parliament for the purpoſe, thoſe promiſes on the part of the Crown might be diſclaimed, or controuled by the Legiſlature, and the miniſterial authority on which the circular letter was written might be diſavowed by ſucceeding Miniſters, as a raſh ill-judged promiſe, which neither their ſucceſſors in office, nor Parliament, were by any means bound to perform or fulfil.

What

What foundation there might have been for the preceding obſervations, we do not pretend to determine; we only meant to ſtate them ſhortly, as being the ſubſtance of the eighteen *celebrated* reſolutions moved for by his Grace in the Houſe of Lords, on the 18th of May, 1770, which produced one of the moſt extraordinary debates that we ever remember to have been preſent at. The whole of the miſconduct of Miniſters in relation to America, for the four preceding years, was laid open in the moſt pointedly ſevere terms; the then ſtate of that country was moſt ſtrikingly depictured; and the *diſſeveration* of it (to uſe one of Mr. Solicitor's technical expreſſions) was predicted in terms the moſt confident and unconditional; yet Adminiſtration remained in a kind of political apathy. Lord Hillſborough rather palliated the meaſures on the *ſtale* doctrine of ſtate *neceſſity*, than offered to defend either himſelf or his colleagues; and very *modeſtly*, though he owned himſelf the culprit [his own words] moved for an *adjournment*.

We

We find his Grace, as often as an opportunity offered, continually recurring to the ſame ground, and as continually overpowered by numbers. His repeated conteſts with Adminiſtration the whole of the ſpring ſeſſion ſeventy-five, will bear teſtimony what his opinions have uniformly been on the preſent diſputes ſubſiſting between this country and America. His Grace diſtinguiſhed himſelf particularly in oppoſing the Prohibitory Fiſhery bill, and in ſupporting the petition from his Majeſty's natural-born ſubjects reſiding in Canada, praying that the law paſſed the preceding ſeſſion, for regulating the government of Quebec, might be repealed. Time only can diſcover whether his Grace has not been as *able* a politician, as he has uniformly proved himſelf to be a ſound, at leaſt a ſincere and ſteady, patriot.

On the opening of the laſt ſeſſion, Adminiſtration began to *feel* him a moſt *weighty*, as well as *warm* antagoniſt. Beſides his general grounds of oppoſition, he opened ſeveral new ones. He proved that the nation had been led *imperceptibly* into the preſent unnatural civil

civil war; that Miniſters anſwered for matters of which they were entirely ignorant, and deceived Parliament with a previous intention of doing ſo. He pointed particularly at the Firſt * Lord of the Admiralty, who in the preceding ſeſſion aſſured the Houſe, that 22,000 ſeamen and marines would anſwer all the purpoſes of home protection and American hoſtility, and who, the firſt day of next ſeſſion, had the temerity to tell Parliament, that he knew the force was *not* ſufficient, but he *concealed* his knowledge of it for *fear* the meaſure at large would not meet with their concurrence and ſupport.

His Grace took a very warm and active part in the motions of the Duke of Mancheſter, on the introduction of the Hanover troops into Gibraltar and Minorca; and the Duke of Grafton's, relative to the number of Britiſh troops ſerving in America, and thoſe in the Provincial ſervice.—He moved for the examination of Mr. Penn, relative to the petition of the

* See the paſſage and proteſt in Almon's Parliamentary Regiſter, No. XV.

the Congreſs, and to the general ſtate and *diſpoſition* of the people of America; by which he proved this very important point, that whatever the intentions might be of a *few* ambitious fiery ſpirits in all parts of America, or of the *Northern Colonies*, that a very great majority of all degrees of people totally diſapproved of any attempt to render themſelves independent of the parent ſtate. — Happy would it be for both countries, had this important truth been more ſeriouſly attended to.

The motion for ſuſpending the military operations againſt America, and countermanding the march of the foreign troops, on the 5th of March, 1776, was brought forward by his Grace in one of the ableſt ſpeeches we have yet heard on either ſide of the ſubject. It took in the whole of the American queſtion, both in point of juſtice, expediency, and practicability. He ſhewed, that the claim puſhed to the *length* of unconditional ſubmiſſion, which was the language again reſumed and publicly avowed, and to ſupport which a noble

Lord * was appointed Secretary of State for the Colonies, was unjuſt, deſpotic, and oppreſſive, and led directly both in *form* and *eſſence* to arbitrary power: for where *no* line was offered to be drawn, either in reſpect of taxation or chartered rights, but the option lay with *one* party to act according to their own *diſcretion*, and *no* right of reſtraint, refuſal, or controul, lay in the other, *that*, in his opinion, was the true and only ſubſtantial definition of arbitrary power; and was preciſely what was ſought and exerciſed by every ſucceſsful or unſucceſsful tyrant, or combination of tyrants, that ever lived. — On the ground of expediency, his Grace was, if poſſible, more convincing: he pointed to the preſent ſtate of France, her governing politics for more than a century, the mixture of jealouſy, envy, rancour, and revenge, ſhe entertained for this country, as well on ruling ſteady principles of national pride and national emulation, as of retaliation, and a ſpirit of re-conqueſt, on account of her diſgraces during the late war, and the acquiſitions ceded to us at the late peace. His Grace ſtrongly held up in *contraſt* the preſent ſtate of our

* Lord George Germain.

our only ſure bulwark againſt the ſecret or avowed attempts of France, our navy, which he contended did not conſiſt of more than the guardſhips, and they not above half manned; to which he added this very alarming circumſtance, that the whole military force then within the kingdom did not amount to quite 8000 men. The laſt point, the impracticability of ſucceeding in our propoſed attempt of reducing, and eſtabliſhing a government founded in conqueſt, he treated with all poſſible ridicule. He contended, that the whole treaſures of Great Britain would fall infinitely ſhort of the undertaking; that if it were practicable, the country would be untenable; that if it were tenable, the expence would be enormous, and the burdens ſuch a military eſtabliſhment would neceſſarily introduce, be intolerable; and if *none* of thoſe obſtacles ſtood in the way, the conqueſt and dominion would not be *worth* ſeeking, as it would only put us in poſſeſſion of a *depopulated waſte*, perhaps, here and there along the ſea-coaſt, occupied by a few mercenary, *ſubjugated, ſpiritleſs ſlaves*.

We

We muſt apologize to our readers for introducing the Duke of Richmond ſo early into our catalogue as a parliamentary ſpeaker, and have only to plead, that we were induced to it by the ſame motive which prevailed on us to preſent our readers with the character of the laſt noble Lord, * merely on account of his *political value.* His Grace abounds with information, well ſelected. He arranges his matter judiciouſly, and ſeldom brings any thing forward that does not immediately concern the ſubject of debate, and is likewiſe important in itſelf. He is able in reply, and never fails to point out and detect, wherever his adverſaries endeavour to palliate, falſify, or miſrepreſent. This, joined to his great ſources of information, his perſonal boldneſs, his warmth of expreſſion, his energy on ſome occaſions, and his coolneſs and recollection on others, unite to render him a moſt uſeful ſpeaker and formidable antagoniſt. On the other hand, his tedious, unmarked manner of ſpeaking, his ſlow coſtive delivery, his frequent pauſes and want of recollection, leave him far behind ſeveral, as a public ſpeaker, who are deſtined

* Lord Sandwich.

deſtined to follow him on the ſame ſide. In fine, it is his *matter*, and his *ſincerity*, not his oratory, that renders him at preſent ſo valuable to the Engliſh nation, ſo prized by his party, ſo *deteſted* by the Junto, ſo *feared* by the oſtenſible Miniſters, and ſo *obnoxious* to a *certain Great Man*.

The Duke of Richmond, as one of the leaders of a powerful party, as a public man and Peer of Parliament, is *one* out of the *very few* who has preſerved an uniformity of conduct; has been ſteady in his principles, open and undiſguiſed in his ſentiments, inflexible in his opinions, unremitted in his oppoſition to what he thought was *wrong*; ſtaunch, ſincere, and unmoved, by any *extrinſic* conſideration, in ſupport of whatever he imagined was *right*. His oppoſition has been uniform; never languid: it is not mixed with indolence, inattention, and a certain *tone* of pliability, a certain *air* of political *charity*, a certain *trimming*, lukewarm diſpoſition. No, the Duke of Richmond has not attended his duty in Parliament

liament *merely* to give a *ſilent* vote. He has not *abſented* himſelf on purpoſe to *create* an apology for his *non*-attendance. He has not delivered his ſentiments by *halves*, in order to let one part of the meaſure paſs *unnoticed*, and the other *unreproved*, in the terms it deſerved. He has not ſpared Miniſters when they deſerved it, out of a mixture of Court and Parliamentary *complaiſance*. Though bred and educated a *modern* Whig, he has not learned the whole of their creed by heart; nor brought himſelf up to the docility of practiſing a fifth of it. He does not *meaſure* his preſent conduct in order to *defend* himſelf when in office by *precedent*; and more than all, he is above loading the *tools* in power, the *phantoms* in office, with matters that, he is *convinced* in his heart, are only chargeable to the obſtinacy and ambition of the firſt M——e.

This may be a deſcription of a man in the clouds; but, be that as it may, his Grace's Parliamentary conduct has encouraged us to give

give it as a *real* one; and that without wiſhing to paſs the leaſt degree of cenſure, oblique or direct, upon any man alive, who is *not* conſcious of deſerving it.

LORD NORTH.

THE political character of this Nobleman, if given in detail, would furniſh materials for a large volume. It would contain a hiſtory of the preſent civil war raging in America, and the ſeveral efficient meaſures which preceded and produced it. It would exhibit the *true* grounds of the ſtruggle between a ſyſtem deſigned to *unite* the legiſlative and executive powers of the ſtate in *one* hand, and *that* ſpecies of civil government eſtabliſhed at the Revolution, which ſuppoſes that Government was eſtabliſhed for the *good* of the community, taking in every deſcription of men, from the firſt magiſtrate to the peaſant; that thoſe who live under it have an *intereſt* in its wiſe, equitable, and prudent adminiſtration; and that, having an intereſt in it, they have alſo a *right* commenſurate to that intereſt, to watch, and, if neceſſary, to *controul* thoſe who are *entruſted* with the direction of public affairs. —It would convey to the nation a juſt deſcription

ſcription of the ſeveral factions and *knots* of men, who have, to the diſgrace of their repeated profeſſions, to *almoſt* the annihilation of all public *confidence*, to a *diſbelief* of all declarations and pretenſions to true patriotiſm, delivered the ſtrong-hold of Government into the hands of thoſe who have uniformly availed themſelves of their ſtrength and *ſituation*, in alternately awing, ſoothing, and, when circumſtances made it neceſſary or opportunity ſerved, in compelling the nation into a tame acquieſcence under the *firſt ſtages* of arbitrary power. Were his Lordſhip's political likeneſs to be accurately or fully delineated, the tranſactions now alluded to, as well as many others growing out of them, or connected with them, would be neceſſary to give the world a finiſhed picture: but as we have neither time, ability, nor inclination to undertake ſo ungrateful and melancholy a taſk; and, if we had, as we think with two celebrated noble * orators, that *this* is not the ſeaſon for detailed political diſquiſition; that *little* remains to be ſaid, and *much* to be done; we ſhall confine our

* See Lords Temple and Mansfield's Speeches in Almon's Parliamentary Regiſter, No. XXIV. and XXV.

our humble attempt to a looſe ſketch of our hero's character. We truſt, however imperfect it may appear, that it will convey a *faithful* likeneſs, though a rough, unfiniſhed one. Sure we are that our *intentions* are *pure*; and that, if we fail in the execution, we ſhall have nothing to charge ourſelves with on the ground of *intentional* partiality.

The firſt time our profeſſed plan will permit us to take notice of his Lordſhip, was on the day that the once-juſtly-revered Pitt was created Earl of Chatham, and Lord Privy Seal —on the 2d of Auguſt, 1766. On the ſame day, according to the language of the red book of the Exchequer, Lord North was put to-bed to the old woman * at the Pay-office, without any previous courtſhip, or indeed † knowledge of that venerable old lady. His Lordſhip having ſat ſeveral years at the Treaſury Board, where he was known to be induſtrious, laborious,

* The well-known Mr. Cooke, Member for Middleſex, with whom he was appointed Joint Paymaſter-General.

† Mr. Burke ſays, in his celebrated ſpeech, that his Lordſhip had never ſeen his bed-fellow's face until the bridal night.

laborious, and plodding; and where he ſtudied Cocker and Wingate's valuable treatiſes on arithmetic, and the *ſurpriſing* combinations between pounds, ſhillings, and pence, under that occult and profound Financier, the late Mr. George Grenville, the ſhining, flouriſhing, political * Proteus, whoſe commiſſion bore equal date, and who was appointed Chancellor of the Exchequer, gave *ſterility* † to *barrenneſs*, by calling our hero to his confidence, and putting himſelf under his Lordſhip's pupilage. *Fame* ſaith, that here our hero rendered the Junto moſt eſſential ſervice, and paved the way to that elevated ſituation he now ſtands in.

Verſatile Charles had talents for *flouriſhing* away a ſpeech, and for flattering and miſleading the Houſe of Commons. He could write a pamphlet, or betray a connexion, and laugh at it. He could even mitigate the reſentments of thoſe he had the moſt highly offended; and by a certain mixture of animal vivacity, highly ſeaſoned

* The late Charles Townſhend.

† A Houſe of Commons *bull* fathered on the laſt-mentioned honourable gentleman.

ſeaſoned with wit and good humour, he poſſeſſed the knack of diſarming the very perſons he had thus groſsly betrayed. But in every other particular his talents were limited. He hated application, and deſpiſed the means of attaining uſeful knowledge. With ſuch complexional abilities, accompanied with a variety of other circumſtances, it is not at all to be wondered that he *leaned* on Lord North for aſſiſtance. He could entertain *no* jealouſy of ſuch a man, becauſe fire and water were not, he knew, more contradictory in their nature. He looked upon his Lordſhip as an uſeful *drudge*, fit to be employed to ſome purpoſes; and this intercourſe being known at Carleton-houſe, Charles's vanity was flattered; he liked to *take* the *lead*; he was detached from the oſtenſible Miniſter, * and from his Firſt Commiſſioner † of the Treaſury, with whom he was, by his poſt, more nearly connected. He differed from them in Cabinet; and the Houſe of Commons, by *proper management*, being *predispoſed*, Charles in the Committee of Supply propoſed that certain duties ſhould be laid on *tea*,

* Lord Chatham. † Duke of Grafton.

tea, paper, painters colours, and glaſs, imported into America. When his colleagues remonſtrated againſt the meaſure, he held out the Houſe of Commons *in terrorem* againſt them; all reſiſtance he declared was vain; for the Houſe, he aſſured his principal, * were united as one man; and were determined to *compel* America to contribute towards the ſupport of their military eſtabliſhment, as well as towards relieving the people of this country from part of the heavy burdens incurred in the protection and aſſiſtance of its Colonies during the late war.

Whether Lord North acted as a *confidential* adviſer in this buſineſs, or whether he was the confidential *medium*, through which the *Junto* and Charles communicated with each other, in the *beginning*, there is little reaſon to doubt that his Lordſhip was *oftener* at the Treaſury than the Pay-office; and infinitely *more* intimate with Charles Townſhend than with his old ſpouſe † at the Horſe-guards.

Charles

* Duke of Grafton. † Mr. Cooke.

Charles lived out his year; pity it is that he had not died a year *earlier*, or had not been ſtill living, to anſwer for the event of his wild and improvident ſchemes. What he had often in a ludicrous manner * foretold, came, however, to be exactly fulfilled; for before he was quite cold Lord North was appointed to ſucceed him in the Chancellorſhip of the Exchequer. As we do not mean to write an hiſtory, nor a life, we ſhall haſten to ſuch parts of his Lordſhip's political and official conduct as more particularly drew the public attention, or are moſt intimately connected with the cauſes of the preſent unnatural civil war, which *threatens* the deſtruction of this powerful and extenſive empire.

His Lordſhip, in the early *perſecution* of Mr. Wilkes, having exerted himſelf ſo ſtrenuouſly as to lay, in a great meaſure, the foundation of his future fortunes, it was expected, of courſe, that

* "See, ſaid Charles, that great, heavy, booby-looking, burſten-bellied, ſeeming changeling. You may believe me, when I aſſure you it is a *fact*, that if any thing ſhould happen to me, he will ſucceed to my place, and very ſhortly after come to be Firſt Commiſſioner of the Treaſury."

that as Miniſter of the Houſe of Commons he would confirm the happy *preſages* formed of his *talents* and *diſpoſition* in this line, by thoſe who were the means of puſhing him into ſo reſpectable a ſituation. His Lordſhip did not diſappoint them; he ſurpaſſed even their higheſt and moſt ſanguine expectations. The Cabinet * was his own, in ſpite of his principal; † and Wilkes was not only expelled, but incapacitated.

The time now approached, when an opportunity was given to his Lordſhip to ſmooth the way to the poſt of Firſt Miniſter. Charles Townſhend's Port duties were not ſo favourably received in America, as either their framer, or thoſe who *employed* him, expected. If his Lordſhip had any part, at firſt or *ſecond* hand, in urging or preſſing Charles to that dangerous, and, we fear, ruinous meaſure, he acted under cover; but now, as Miniſter of the Houſe of Commons, he could no longer diſſemble

* The oſtenſible Cabinet was then compoſed of Lords Camden, Hillſborough, Gower, Weymouth, Clare, Rochford, North, and the Duke of Grafton—a majority of *five* to two.

† Duke of Grafton.

diſſemble or conceal his ſentiments. The non-importation agreement entered into by the ſeveral Colonies, and a diſpute with the province of Maſſachuſett's Bay relative to the quartering of the army, having greatly embarraſſed Adminiſtration, two letters were written, which have been already ſufficiently commented on. One of them was the circular letter, promiſing, that no more duties ſhould be impoſed on America, and that thoſe laid on already ſhould be repealed on commercial principles. This letter was certainly written with his Lordſhip's *approbation* and *conſent*, he being *then* of the *Cabinet*, and *Miniſter* of the *Houſe* of *Commons*. How then has he performed his promiſe, or fulfilled the engagement contained in that letter? By *refuſing* to take off the duty on *tea*, when he moved for the repeal of the duties on paper, painters colours, and glaſs; and giving the moſt full and confidential *aſſurances* to the country gentlemen in the beginning of the three laſt ſeſſions, in the Committee of Ways and Means, that taxes were *expected* from America; that they were the *leading* object of the preſent hoſtile

hoſtile meaſures; that we were not ſeeking a *pepper-corn*, but were contending for a *ſubſtantial* ſupport from America, towards lightening the intolerable burdens we now groan under, from the heavy debt incurred in defending, protecting, and ſecuring that country.

The laſt part of Lord Chatham's political farce was now to be played. The Cabinet on his Lordſhip's cloſet arrangement conſiſted of himſelf, the Duke of Grafton, the Lords Shelburne, Camden, and Charles Townſhend, Sir Charles Saunders, and General Conway. Now let us ſee how the mock-cabinet ſtood *when* the repeal of *all* the American duties was moved there in 1769.—Duke of Grafton, and Lords Camden, *North*, *Weymouth*, *Rochford*, *Hillſborough*, and *Briſtol*. Here we may well repeat the words of a certain noble Lord, * that ſcarce a ſecond plank of the veſſel originally launched was remaining when the noble Duke was *out-voted* in Cabinet, on a propoſal of a total repeal of the American Port duties; which *fatal vote* is the *true* and *ſole* cauſe of the preſent civil war.

* Lord Chatham.

The Firſt Lord of the Treaſury at length took it in his head to do what both prudence and ſpirit had, in our opinion, long before dictated. Finding in the winter 1769, that he was *out-voted* in Cabinet, on a propoſition of a *total* repeal of the American Port duties, and that it was ultimately determined to keep the duty on tea ſtanding, and that the meaſure in this form was to be ſubmitted to Parliament, his Grace reſigned, and made way for our hero. Accordingly, on the 5th of March, 1770, about ſix weeks after the noble Duke's reſignation, and his ſucceeding to that important poſt, juſt vacated, his Lordſhip moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal ſo much of an act paſſed in the ſeventh of his preſent Majeſty, for levying duties on certain goods imported into America, as related to the duties impoſed by ſaid act on the importation of paper, painters colours, and glaſs. In his introductory ſpeech on this occaſion, he *cenſured*, in very ſevere terms, the conduct of the Adminiſtration who deviſed the tax, obſerving, it was to the laſt degree *abſurd* to tax the manufactures of Great Britain. As to the tea, *that* being an article of commerce, and as the

conſumers

conſumers in the Colonies would continue to have it nine-pence a pound cheaper than before the paſſing of the law, he thought it very proper to have it *continued.* His Lordſhip was *preſſed* by many of his friends, as well as his oppoſers, to conſent to a total repeal: but he remained inflexible and unmoved; and after a very warm debate, he carried his motion for a partial repeal, by a majority of 204 againſt 142. This we look upon to be one of the *blackeſt* days Britain ever ſaw; a day which probably will be as memorable in the Britiſh annals, as ever the Ides of March were in thoſe of antient Rome. The motion on which the queſtion was put, was made by Governor Pownal, by way of amendment, in the following words, " and on teas."

His Lordſhip, however, had another opportunity to recover his ſenſes, or to endeavour to reſtore his *employers* to theirs; for Mr. Alderman Trecothick, on the 9th of April following, moved for leave to bring in a bill to repeal the American tea duty; but the noble Lord ſeeming averſe to it, one of the

worthy corps of * King's friends moved the order of the day, which was carried by a majority of 80 to 52.

His Lordſhip choſe to defeat this laſt effort of the friends of their country, to prevent the evils with which we are at preſent encompaſſed, by a kind of play at parliamentary *croſs purpoſes*, and ended the whole with a joke. He inſiſted, in the firſt inſtance, that Mr. Pownal's amendment ought to have the weight of a formal motion; and conſequently that Mr. Trecothick's motion was premature, becauſe it was againſt a known rule of the Houſe, that any queſtion which had received a negative ſhould be brought in the ſame ſeſſion. The joke was entirely in the ſtyle of his Lordſhip's other *drolleries*. Mr. Beckford (then Lord-Mayor) perceiving that the Miniſtry were determined not to conſent to the motion, and only objected to the point of order to *conceal* their real intentions, *hoped* the noble Lord would conſent to a prorogation of the Parliament till after the holidays. "Oh, (replied his Lordſhip in his truly Attic manner) I am glad

* Lord Clare, now Earl Nugent.

glad to find that a *prorogation* will *content* the honourable gentleman;" alluding to the city petition, lately preſented, praying a *diſſolution* of Parliament.

The ſeſſion of 1771 was a very warm one; the diſpute with Spain relative to Falkland's Iſlands, and the attack on the Judges and the adminiſtration of juſtice in the Courts of Law, the conteſt with the Printers and the City Magiſtrates, rendered it ſtill more ſo; but he ſurmounted all difficulties much better than was at firſt expected by his moſt ſanguine friends.

The ſeſſion of 1772 was diſtinguiſhed by his carrying a moſt difficult point in the Houſe of Commons, the Royal Marriage bill. This recommended him ſtrongly to the Junto and his Royal Maſter, and procured him the ribbon.

The ſeſſion of 1773 was marked by his conducting the Eaſt-India inquiry, and the bill for new-modelling the affairs of the Eaſt-India Company in Aſia and Europe. He was ſtrongly

ſtrongly oppoſed in the Cabinet on this meaſure; but by his perſeverance and addreſs he ſurmounted all the impediments thrown in his way. He had other perſons blunders to anſwer for as well as his own, during this ſeſſion. Lord Hillſborough having been impoſed on by ſome mercenary planters in St. Vincent's, diſpoſed of the Caribb Iſlands to the intereſted informants, which cauſed an inſurrection.

We come now to the fatal period, in which the foundation of the ruin which at preſent threatens this ſeemingly devoted empire with deſtruction was laid; we mean the ſpring ſeſſion 1774. The affairs of America had now continued for almoſt ſeven years in the greateſt confuſion. Our threats were ſet at defiance, our mere acts of governmental power were diſregarded, our ſoothings were deſpiſed, our promiſes were diſbelieved: in fine, after making the King deſcend from his dignity; after Miniſters had pledged themſelves for the performance of what, according to the ſound principles of the conſtitution, they would deſerve to have ſuffered on a block for; after troops had been ſent to bully the moſt refractory

fractory colonies into ſubmiſſion, and had been as precipitately withdrawn out of a regard to their perſonal ſafety; after their Aſſemblies had been diſſolved, to compel them to acquieſce in meaſures they were averſe to, and again convened and permitted to ſit, without any ſatisfaction given or promiſed; after an abſolute act of parliament had been explained by an arbitrary vote of both Houſes, as purporting * to contain a deſcription of perſons not then in being, and creating offences of high treaſon, by a conſtrained and unnatural interpretation of the law; in fine, after America had been in a manner cut off, and its affections eſtranged from this country for full ſeven years, and all regular government partly at an end, nothing was yet done. Adminiſtration ſeemed ſupine and negligent, in proportion to the magnitude and number of difficulties they had to encounter with. The riots, however, at Boſton the preceding autumn, and the burning of the tea, at length rouſed a country gentleman, † who gave notice, that he would, on a certain day,

* 25th of Henry VIII. for trial of offences committed beyond ſea.

† Colonel Jennings.

day, move the Houſe to reſolve itſelf into a Committee to take the affairs of America into conſideration. Before that day arrived, his Lordſhip ſaw the neceſſity of taking the inquiry out of the hands of Oppoſition, who were then in poſſeſſion of it; and who might poſſibly move ſome reſolution it would be extremely embarraſſing to get rid of: he therefore informed the Houſe, that he would, on ſuch a day, move the Houſe for a Committee for the ſame purpoſe.

On the day appointed his Lordſhip moved ſeveral reſolutions, on the firſt of which the Boſton Port bill was framed. His Lordſhip ſupported that meaſure on poſitive aſſurances, that the Eaſt-India Company would be indemnified for their tea that was deſtroyed; and that the whole affair would conſequently drop. The next bill he brought in, was that for altering the Charter of the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay; he recommended this in the ſame manner. He aſſured the Houſe, that the preſent bill was at the ſpecial requeſt of the principal inhabitants, traders, and land-owners.

Both

Both theſe aſſurances proved *ill*-founded; his Lordſhip was deceived, or *purpoſely* deceived Parliament. The firſt meaſure was very ill received in America, but the ſecond threw the people into a ferment little ſhort of rebellion.

The ſeſſion of 1775, or the firſt of the preſent Parliament, was opened in a moſt extraordinary manner: the naval peace eſtabliſhment was *reduced* 4000 men; and though we were informed, that General Gage was fortifying Boſton Neck, in order to protect himſelf againſt hoſtilities, every thing appeared as *tranquil* in Parliament as if nothing had happened in America. His Lordſhip was a ſecond time awaked from his deceitful ſlumbers; he accordingly produced ſome garbled extracts of mutilated letters, full of falſe or exaggerated facts, vague ſurmiſes, idle reports, and ſilly predictions, from the ſeveral tools and inſtruments of power on the ſpot. His Lordſhip was, ſtrange as it may appear, able to procure a majority of three to one; the navy was augmented 6000 men, and the army 4000; a ſtring of penal bills were enacted, full of the

moſt fooliſh, as well as the moſt barbarous policy; and his Lordſhip cloſed his parliamentary campaign with aſſuring his friends and opponents repeatedly, that he would have an army of 10 or 12,000 men at Boſton; that our friends in America were much more numerous than our enemies; but if we *ſhould* be obliged to proceed to extremities, our force at Boſton would be ſtrong enough to *compel* obedience *without* ſtriking a blow. His Lordſhip was again groſsly miſtaken: for obedience was not compelled by fright, terror, or blows; we got as bad as we gave; and we threw away three millions of money at leaſt, and ſeveral valuable lives, without *bringing America * to our feet.*

Well, the ſeſſion of 1776 arrived. His Lordſhip *confeſſed* he was *deceived*, both in the ſtrength of his adverſaries, and the *real* diſpoſition of his friends. He now *diſclaimed* all thoughts of conqueſt and taxation. America muſt acknowledge the ſupremacy and commercial controul of this country; that was

* A favourite phraſe of his Lordſhip's during the latter part of the ſeſſion 1774.

was all he desired. This, however, not being highly relished by the friends of taxation, his Lordship soon changed his mind; and by the time that he had led Parliament *too* far to *recede*, he declared for taxation, and unconditional submission, in imitation of his noble and spirited coadjutor; and taking breath, during the Christmas holidays, led Parliament a *little* farther, by taking 20,000 foreigners into British pay. With this formidable army of 70,000 land forces, and 80 ships and frigates of war, at an expence of 15 millions, including the home establishment, his Lordship has, for the *third* time, *pledged* himself to Parliament and the public, that America would be *finally reduced* at the close of the *present* campaign.—Whether that will be so or not, is not yet known; if this last prediction turns out true, we will readily allow him to be the greatest Minister this country ever saw; should it turn out the contrary, then will we not hesitate to pronounce him the *veriest* and most *confident bungler* that was ever employed by Providence as an instrument to *scourge* a credulous, degenerate, weak, and wicked nation.

It is difficult to ſpeak of his Lordſhip's political abilities with any degree of confidence or preciſion. If he be the *mere puppet* of the interior cabinet, the mere child of favouritiſm, it is impoſſible to try him fairly as a Miniſter, acting on *his own* judgment; we muſt in that caſe conſider him merely as poſſeſſed of good talents, but baſely ſacrificing them to the meaneſt and moſt ſordid motives. Perhaps it may be ſaid, his principles lead him that way; and his inclination and intereſt unite in urging him to promote the views and wiſhes of the *Prince*, in preference to thoſe of the *people*. Be it ſo: the queſtion in that light is at an end. He cannot be a proper Miniſter in a mixed or popular government, who would endeavour to give the firſt magiſtrate more power than is allowed by the conſtitution; or *unite* the executive and legiſlative powers of the ſtate in the ſame perſon. On the other hand, ſuppoſing Lord North to be really *the* Miniſter, as much as Walpole, Pelham, or Pitt were ſeverally when they bore the character (which we will as ſoon believe, till we receive ſome ſubſtantial proof of it, as that he is Mufti

or

or Turkiſh High Prieſt) we can by no means allow him fitted either by nature, habit, or inclination, for ſo great and arduous an undertaking. It would be an invidious taſk to aſſign our reaſons, nor would it be leſs tedious and diſguſting. His Lordſhip is, however, a man of ſound judgment, well trained in buſineſs, of great parliamentary dexterity, and equalled by no man in Britain in plauſibility, in a ſtrong appearance of candour, in avoiding explanations in debate, and knowing how to *recede* from engagements *without* incurring a *breach* of promiſe. His enemies allow him no merit. This is merely the voice of party. His Lordſhip was called to the helm at a moſt *critical* ſeaſon, in a ſtorm of faction or national reſentment, call it which you pleaſe. He rode it out with great reſolution, and no ſmall degree of miniſterial ſkill; and whether his conduct on that occaſion may be imputed unto him as righteouſneſs, there is little doubt that he encountered *ſome perils*, and many diſagreeable circumſtances; and, like an able pilot, brought the political bark ſafe into port.

Lord

Lord North is certainly a very able ſpeaker. His *judgment* in conducting a debate is *admirable*. He is poſſeſſed of a vaſt fund of information, relative to almoſt every ſubject that comes under diſcuſſion. He has a prodigious ſound, accurate memory; arranges his matter judiciouſly; and never fails to puſh the *ſtrongeſt part* of his argument into the moſt *conſpicuous* point of view. If he ſeldom produces any thing new himſelf, he has a peculiar knack at transferring other people's ſentiments, both in print and debate, into his ſpeeches, and that with ſo much art as not to be eaſily obſerved; and never fails to preſs his antagoniſts, where they are *weakeſt*, and *leaſt* capable of reſiſtance. But if he has many equals, and ſome ſuperiors, in this line, there is *one*, in which he peculiarly and clearly *excels all* his cotemporaries in both Houſes; that is, in *reply*. He receives the attacks of his opponents frequently like an electric ſhock; and after haranguing for an hour rather dully, he riſes a ſecond time, and levels his adverſary in a few words, either in a flow of keen ſatire, or the moſt ſound and pointed argument. —His Lordſhip's voice is extremely diſagreeable, his elocution ſtill worſe,

and

and his manner execrably aukward. He is frequently tedious and unintelligible, abounds in uſeleſs repetitions, and ſcarcely ever places his emphaſis with propriety, much leſs with grace.—In ſhort, we would adviſe his Lordſhip, at this time of day, to abſtain from an aukward imitation of others, to avoid all trite phraſes, conſtrained attitudes, and worn-out expletives; for it is poſſible they might paſs very well with Burke, Germain, Fox, Barré, or Ellis, and nevertheleſs appear amazingly nauſeous and diſguſting at *ſecond hand.*

8 DE 68

NEW BOOKS,

Printed for W. WILSON, No. 6, Dame-ſtreet; and R. MONCRIEFFE, No. 16, Capel-ſtreet.

I. LETTERS TO MARRIED WOMEN, by HUGH SMITH, M. D. neatly printed on fine Paper, 12mo. Price 3s. 3d. bound, or 2s. 8dh. ſewed.

*** The Maxims inſiſted on throughout are agreeable to the Laws of Nature; Dr. Smith has rendered them evident to common Senſe: They are the Reſult of an aſſiduous Attention to the Duties of his Profeſſion, and it may with Truth be added, that they have the further Sanction of ſucceſsful Experience: They were wrote with a View to promote the Happineſs and Comfort of his Fellow-creatures, and to preſerve helpleſs Infants from their preſent almoſt certain Deſtruction.

II. THE ECONOMY OF BEAUTY; in a Series of Fables, addreſſed to the Ladies. By Dr. COSENS, Miniſter of Teddington, Middleſex, and Chaplain to the Right Hon. the Earl of Denbigh, 12mo. Price 2s. 8dh. bound.

I claim the Attention of the Ladies, and profeſs to teach an Art by which all may obtain what has hitherto been deemed the Prerogative of a few; an Art by which their predominant Paſſion may be gratified, and their Conqueſts not only extended but ſecured.

The Art of being Pretty. HAWKSWORTH.

III. A

III. A VIEW OF THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE OF THE CHRISTIAN RELIGION. The ſecond Edition enlarged. By Soame Jenyns, Eſq; Price 2s. 2d. ſewed in Marble Paper.

Almoſt thou perſuadeſt me to be a Chriſtian.
Acts xxvi. 28.

*** The prodigious demand for this Pamphlet, both in England and Ireland, which required a ſeventh Edition in a few Months, the Editors preſume is a ſufficient teſtimony of its extraordinary merit.

IV. THE POLITICAL TRACTS and SPEECHES of EDMUND BURKE, Eſq; Member of Parliament for the City of Briſtol, 8vo. Price 6s. 6d. bound.

V. LETTERS from EDINBURGH, written in the Years 1774 and 1775. Containing, ſome Obſervations on the Diverſions, Cuſtoms, Manners and Laws of the Scotch Nation, during a ſix Months Reſidence in Edinburgh. In two Vols. 12mo. Price 4s. 4d. ſewed, or 5s. 5d. neatly bound.

‡‡‡ The Public are here preſented with a valuable Collection of Letters, containing all that relates to the Manners of a poliſhed People. They are the living and real Sentiments of the Scotch upon various Occaſions; and the Author eſteemed himſelf happy to pay a juſt Tribute to the Merits of their Nation.

VI. LETTERS from ITALY, by an ENGLISH WOMAN, 3 Vols. 12mo. Price 9s. 9d. bound.

"The

"The Obſervations and Reflections interſperſed "through theſe Lettters, diſcover a *ſolid Under-* "*ſtanding*, liberal Sentiments, and a cultivated "Taſte. The Remarks upon Paintings, Statues, "&c. (which are numerous) will, we apprehend, "be highly acceptable to thoſe who ſtudy or prac- "tiſe the fine Arts, and will not be thought un- "entertaining by the generality of Readers."

Monthly Review.

VII. The HOUSE-KEEPER'S ACCOMPT-BOOK, for the Year 1777; or, an eaſy, conciſe, and complete Method of Keeping an exact Account of every Article made uſe of in a Family, throughout the Year: each Page divided into ſeven Columns, for the Expence of every Day in the Week; with room affixed for Weekly Expences, and Obſervations. In which are prefixed *Marketing-Tables*, giving the amount of any number of Pounds, Yards, &c. from one Farthing to ten Shillings per Pound, and a *Table* of *Expences*, *Income*, or *Wages*, by the Year, Month, Week, and Day, from one Pound to forty thouſand Pounds per Year, how much per Month, Week, or Day. And at the End are added, a Table of the Balance of the Year's Expence, and of each Week in the Year: an eaſy Bill of Fare for Dinner and Supper, every Month in the Year; with a complete Liſt of ſuch Articles as are monthly in Seaſon, particularly adapted for this Kingdom: and a Collection of uſeful Receipts, [neceſſary for all Families.] Price, 2s. 8dh. bound.

VIII. AN APOLOGY for CHRISTIANITY, in a Series of Letters addreſſed to EDWARD GIBBON, Eſq; Author of the Decline and Fall of the Roman

Roman Empire. By R. WATSON, D. D. F. R. S. and Regius Profeſſor of Divinity in the Univerſity of Cambridge. To which is added, Remarks on the two laſt Chapters of Mr. GIBBON's Hiſtory, in a Letter to a Friend. Price 4s. 4d. bound.

"This Apology is the beſt controverſial Tract that has lately appeared. It is written in a liberal Manner, with great Perſpicuity and Force of Reaſoning, and is, what Books of this Kind ſeldom are, inſtructive and entertaining."

Critical Review.

IX. POLITICAL TRACTS, of Dr. Samuel Johnſon, containing, the Falſe Alarm, Faulkland's Iſlands, the Patriot, and Taxation no Tyranny. Price 2s. 8dh. bound.

X. THE CONSTITUTION OF ENGLAND: or, an Account of the Engliſh Government: In which it is compared with the Republican form of Government, and occaſionally with the other Monarchies in Europe. By J. L. DE LOLME, Advocate, Citizen of Geneva. The fourth Edition, corrected by the Author. Price 4s. 4d. bound.

Ponderibus librata ſuis.—OVID. MET. L. i. 13.

†‡† "The reputation of this Book, the French "Original of which is known to many of our "Readers, hath not been a little increaſed by the "great character given of it by the celebrated "*Junius*. He ſpeaks of it more than once with "high encomium, and has recommended it to the "Public as a performance, deep, ſolid, and ingeni-"ous. Nor is it *Junius* alone who hath praiſed it "in the ſtrongeſt terms, it has been mentioned,

"with

" with equal applauſe, by ſome of the moſt illuſtri-
" ous members of the Britiſh ſenate; among whom
" may be reckoned the names of a *Camden* and a
" *Chatham*."

Monthly Review.

XI. The HISTORY of the Reign of PHILIP THE SECOND, King of Spain. By ROBERT WATSON, L. L. D. 2 Vols. 8vo. Price 13s. bound.

XII. ADDITIONAL OBSERVATIONS on the Nature and Value of CIVIL LIBERTY, and the WAR with AMERICA, alſo, Obſervations on Schemes for raiſing Money by public Loans; an Hiſtorical Deduction and Analyſis of the National Debt; and a brief Account of the Debts and Reſources of France. By RICHARD PRICE, D. D. F. R. S. 12mo. Price 2s. 8dh. bound. Or, both Parts, Firſt and Second bound together, 4s. 4d.

XIII. ADDITIONS to the WORKS of ALEX. POPE, Eſq; together with many original Poems and Letters, of cotemporary Writers. Never before publiſhed. In two Vols. 12mo. Price 6s. 6d. bound.

XIV. The HISTORY of GREAT BRITAIN, from the Reſtoration to the Acceſſion of the HOUSE of HANOVER. By JAMES MACPHERSON, Eſq; Alſo, Original Papers, containing the ſecret Hiſtory of Great Britain, from the Reſtoration to the Acceſſion of the Houſe of Hanover. To which are prefixed, Extracts from the Life of JAMES II. as written

written by himſelf. The whole arranged and publiſhed by JAMES MACPHERSON, Eſq; in 4 Vols. 8vo. Price 1l. 8s. bound.

"It is unneceſſary to obſerve that theſe original Papers throw conſiderable light on the Britiſh Hiſtory in the Period to which they relate. Mr. *Macpherſon's* induſtry and judgment as an Editor deſerve equal praiſe with his fidelity, of which we entertain not the leaſt ſuſpicion. He has arranged the materials according to Chronological order, and prefaced the papers of each year with pertinent introductory remarks. In general, the ſtyle is ſuitable to hiſtorical dignity, and is equally perſpicuous and animated."

Critical Review.

XV. MEMOIRS of the CARDINAL DE RETZ, containing the particulars of his own Life, with the moſt ſecret Tranſactions of the French Court and the Civil Wars. Tranſlated from the French. In 4 Vols. 12mo. Price 10s. 10d. bound.

XVI. MEMOIRS of GUY JOLI, private Secretary to Cardinal de Retz; Claude Joli, Canon of Notre-Dame; and the Ducheſs de Nemours. Theſe ſeveral Hiſtories form a Supplement to, and an Illuſtration of the Memoirs of Cardinal de Retz, and are uſeful and abſolutely neceſſary to the Reader, as they throw a Light on many Paſſages that at firſt ſeem obſcure and unintelligible. In 2 Vols. 12mo. Price 6s. 6d. bound.

XVII. MEMOIRS of the Kings of FRANCE, of the Race of Valois, interſperſed with intereſting Anecdotes. To which is added, a TOUR through

the

the Weſtern, Southern, and interior Provinces of France, in a Series of Letters, by NATH. WRAXALL, jun. Eſq; In 2 Vols. 12mo. Price 6s. 6d. bound.

XVIII. A TREATISE on CATTLE: Shewing the moſt approved Methods of Breeding, Rearing, and fitting for Uſe, Horſes, Aſſes, Mules, horned Cattle, Sheep, Goats and Swine; with directions for the proper Treatment of them in their ſeveral Diſeaſes. Carefully collected from the beſt Authorities, and interſperſed with Remarks. By JOHN MILLS, Eſq; Fellow of the Royal Society in London, Honorary Member of the Dublin Society, of the Royal Societies of Agriculture at Paris and Rouen, of the Economical Society of Berne, and of the Palatine Academy of Sciences and Belles-Lettres. 8vo. Price 6s. 6d. bound.

*** This Work is executed in a very maſterly Manner: by it, the mere Engliſh Reader is furniſhed with the Sentiments of all the great French Authors upon the Subject, judiciouſly ſelected, and well tranſlated into Engliſh, without the Trouble of ſearching for, and Expence of purchaſing, their voluminous Works.

XIX. MISCELLANEOUS WORKS of the late PHILIP DORMER STANHOPE, Earl of Cheſterfield: Conſiſting of LETTERS to his FRIENDS, never before printed, and various other Articles. To which are prefixed, MEMOIRS of his LIFE, tending to illuſtrate the Civil, Literary, and Political HISTORY OF HIS TIME. By M. MATY, M. D. late principal Librarian of the Britiſh Muſeum, and Secretary to the Royal Society. Elegantly printed on fine Royal Paper. In 3 Vols. 8vo.

Embelliſhed

Embelliſhed with Heads of the Earl and Counteſs of Cheſterfield, Lady Halifax, Earl Stanhope, the Earl of Scarborough, Van Slingeland, Grand Penſionary of Holland, the preſent Biſhop of Waterford, Thomas Prior, Eſq; and Alderman George Faulkner; engraved by the moſt capital Artiſts, from original Paintings of Sir Peter Lely, Sir Godfrey Kneller, Vanloo, &c. Price 1l. 2s. 9d. bound.

N. B. This Edition contains a curious and valuable Addition of ſeveral ORIGINAL LETTERS, not inſerted in the London Edition.

XX. AN INQUIRY INTO THE NATURE AND CAUSES OF THE WEALTH OF NATIONS. By ADAM SMITH, L. L. D. and F. R. S. formerly Profeſſor of Moral Philoſophy in the Univerſity of Glaſcow. In 3 Vols. 8vo. Price 19s. 6d. bound.

8 DE 68